

For My L^d Bp: of Winchester

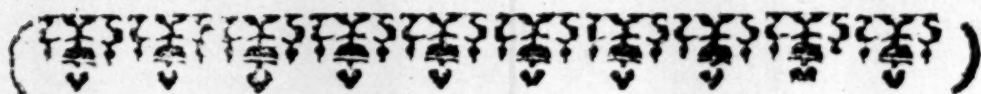


Imprimatur.

Ex Æd. Lamb.

Oct. 29. 1664.

Geo. Stradling, S.T.P. Rev:
in Christo Pat. D. Gilb.
Archiep. Cant. à Sac. Do.



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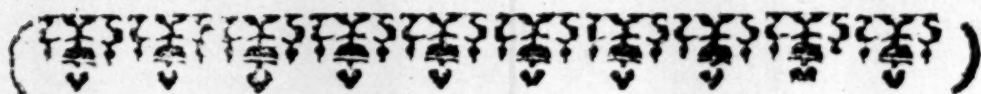


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from 106572



MR RICHARD HOOKER Author of those —
Learned Booke, of Ecclesiasticall —
politic —

w. Dole F.

THE
L I F E
O F

Mr. *RICH. HOOKER,*

The Author of those Learned
Books of the Laws of

Ecclesiastical Polity.

Prov. 2. 15.

The tongue of the wise useth knowledge rightly.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. G. for Rich. Marriott, and are to be
sold at his Shop under the Kings-head
Tavern, over against the Inner Temple
gate in Fleetstreet. 1665.



To the Right Honourable,

A N D

Right Reverend Father in God,

G E O R G E

Lord Bishop of Winchester,

Dean of His Majesty's Chapel

Royal, and Prelate of the most

Noble Order of the Garter.

MY LORD,



*Here present you with
a Relation of the Life
of that Humble man,
to whom (at the mention of his
Name) Princes, and the
most*

most Learned of this Nation,
have paid a Reverence.

It was written by me under
your Roof ; for which, and
more weighty Reasons , you
might (if it were worthy) justly
claim a Title to it : But in-
deed, my Lord, though this be a
well-meant Sacrifice to the Me-
mory of that Venerable man ;
yet, I have so little Confidence in
my Performance, that I beg
your Pardon for Supscribing
your Name to it ; and desire
all that know your Lordship to
receive it, not as a Dedication,
by which you receive any Access
of Honour, but rather as a more
humble

*humble and a more publick Ac-
knowledgment of your long. con-
tinued, and your now daily, Fa-
vours to*

Your most Affectionate,
and most Humble Servant,

Nov. 28.
1664.

IZAACK WALTON.

A

The

*The Copy of a Letter writ to
Mr. Walton by Dr. King,
Lord Bishop of Chichester.*

THough a Familiarity of almost Forty years continuance, and the constant experience of your Love even in the worst times, be sufficient to indear our Friendship; yet I must confess my Affection much improved, not onely by Evidences of private Respect to many that know and love you, but by your new Demonstration of a Publick Spirit, testified in a diligent, true, and useful Collection of so many Material Passages as you have now afforded me in the Life of *Venerable Mr. Hooker*. Of which, since desired by such a Friend as your self, I shall not deny to give the Testimony of what I know concerning him and his learned Books: but shall first here take a fair occasion to tell you, that you have been happy in chusing to write the Lives of three such Persons, as Posterity hath just cause to honour; which they will do the more for the true Relation of them by

your happy Pen ; of all which I shall give you my unfeigned Censure.

I shall begin with my most dear and incomparable Friend Dr. *Donne*, late Dean of *S. Pauls* Church, who not onely trusted me as his Executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands those excellent Sermons of his now made publick : professing before Dr. *Winniff*, Dr. *Montford*, and I think your self then present at his bed-side, that it was by my restless importunity that he had prepared them for the Press ; together with which (as his best Legacy) he gave me all his Sermon-Notes, and his other Papers, containing an Extract of near Fifteen hundred Authors. How these were got out of my hands, you, who were the Messenger for them, and how lost both to me and your self, is not now seasonable to complain : but, since they did miscarry, I am glad that the general Demonstration of his Worth was so fairly preserv'd, and represented to the World by your Pen in the History of his Life ; indeed so well, that beside others, the best Critick of our later time (Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton College*) affirm'd

firm'd to me, *He had not seen a Life written with more advantage to the Subject, or more reputation to the Writer, than that of Dr. Donnes.*

After the performance of this task for *Dr. Donne*, you undertook the like office for our Friend *Sir Henry Wotton*, betwixt which two there was a Friendship begun in *Oxford*, continued in their various Travels, and more confirm'd in the religious Friendship of Age: and doubtless this excellent Person had writ the Life of *Dr. Donne*, if Death had not prevented him; by which means his and your Pre-collections for that Work fell to the happy Menage of your Pen: a Work which you would have declin'd, if imperious Persuasions had not been stronger than your modest Resolutions against it. And I am thus far glad, that the first Life was so impos'd upon you, because it gave an unavoidable Cause of Writing the second; if not, 'tis too probable we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all Lovers of Honour and ingenious Learning. And let me not leave my Friend *Sir Henry* without this Testimony added to yours, That he was a Man of as

Florid a Wit and Elegant a Pen, as any former, or ours which in that kind is a most excellent Age hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary Observation of our two deceased Friends, I proceed to satisfy your desire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. *Hooker*, who was *Schismaticorum Malleus*, so great a Champion for the Church of *Englands* Rights against the Factious Torrent of Separatists, that then ran high against Church-Discipline, and in his unanswerable Books continues to be so against the unquiet Disciples of their Schism ; which now under other Names still carry on their Design, and who (as the proper Heirs of their Irrational Zele) would again rake into the scarce-closed Wounds of a newly bleeding State and Church.

And first, though I dare not say that I knew Mr. *Hooker* ; yet, as our Ecclesiastical History reports to the honour of *Ignatius*, that he lived in the time of *S. John*, and had seen him in his Childhood ; so I also joy that in my Minority I have often seen Mr. *Hooker* with my
Father,

Father, from whom and others at that time I have heard most of the material passages which you relate in the History of his Life, and from my Father received such a Character of his *Learning*, *Humility*, and other Virtues, that like Jewels of unvaluable price, they still cast such a lustre as Envy or the Rust of Time shall never darken.

From my Father I have also heard all the Circumstances of the Plot to defame him; and how Sir *Edwin Sandys* outwitted his Accusers, and gained their Confession; and could give an account of each particular of that Plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the same Grave with the Malicious Authors.

I may not omit to declare, that my Fathers Knowledge of Mr. *Hooker* was occasioned by the Learned Dr. *John Spencer*, who after the Death of Mr. *Hooker* was so careful to preserve his unvaluable Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Books of *ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY*, and his other Writings, that he procured *Henry Jackson*, then of *Corpus-Christi* College, to transcribe for him all

Mr. *Hookers* remaining written Papers, many of which were imperfect, for his Study had been rifled or worse used by Mr. *Charke*, and another of Principles too like his: but, as these Papers were ^{they were} ~~endeavoured~~ to be completed by his dear Friend Dr. *Spencer*, who bequeathed them as a precious Legacy to my Father, then Bishop of *London*; after whose Death they rested in my hand, till Dr. *Abbot*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, commanded them out of my Custody, authorizing Dr. *John Barkeham* to require and bring them to him to *Lambeth*; at which time I have heard they were put into the Bishops Library, and that they remained there till the Martyrdom of Archbishop *Laud*, and were then by the Brethren of that Faction given with the Library to *Hugh Peters*, as a Reward for his remarkable Service in those sad times of the Churches Confusion; and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other Endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that Language for which the Faction then fought, which was *To subject the Sovereign Power to the People.*

I need not strive to vindicate Mr. *Hooker* in this particular, his known Loyalty to his Prince whilest he lived, the Sorrow expressed by K. *James* at his Death, the Value our late Sovereign (of ever-blessed Memory) put upon his Works, and now, the singular Character of his Worth by you given in the passages of his Life, especially in your *Appendix* to it, do sufficiently clear him from that Imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value *Robert Stapleton*, Pope *Clement* the VIII. and other Eminent Men of the Romish Persuasion, have put upon his Books, having been told the same in my Youth by Persons of worth that have travelled *Italy*.

Lastly, I must again congratulate this Undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other person, by reason of your long Knowledge and Alliance to the worthy Family of the *Cranmers*, (my old Friends also) who have been Men of noted Wisdom, especially Mr. *George Cranmer*, whose Prudence added to that of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, proved very useful in the Completing of Mr. *Hookers* matchless Books; one of their Letters I herewith
send

send you, to make use of, if you think fit.
And let me say further ; you merit much
from many of *Mr. Hookers* best Friends
then living, namely from the ever re-
nowned Archbishop *Whitgift*, of whose
incomparable Worth, with the Character
of the Times, you have given us a more
short and significant Account than I have
received from any other Pen. You have
done much for Sir *Henry Savile*, his Con-
temporary and familiar Friend ; amongst
the surviving Monuments of whose Lear-
ning (give me leave to tell you so) two
are omitted, his Edition of *Euclid*, but
especially his Translation of *King James*
his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance into
elegant Latine; which flying in that dress
as far as *Rome*, was by the Pope and Con-
clave sent to *Salamanca* unto *Franciscus*
Suarez, (then residing there as President
of that College) with a Command to
Answer it. When he had perfected the
Work, which he calls *Defensio Fidei*
Catholica, it was transmitted to *Rome* for
a view of the Inquisitors, who according
to their custom blotted out what they
pleas'd, and (as *Mr. Hooker* hath been
used since his Death) added whatsoever
might

might advance the Popes Supremacy, or carry on their own Interest, commonly coupling *Deponere & Occidere*, the Deposing and Killing of Princes ; which cruel and unchristian Language Mr. *John Saltkell* his *Amanuensis*, when he wrote at *Salamanca*, (but since a Convert, living long in my Fathers house) often professed the good Old man (whose Piety and Charity Mr. *Saltkell* magnified much) not onely disavowed, but detested. Not to trouble you further ; your Reader (if according to your desire my Approbation of your Work carries any weight) will find many just Reasons to thank you for it ; and for this Circumstance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who is,

Sir,

Chichester,

Nov. 13 1664.

Your ever-faithful and

affectionate old Friend,

Henry Chichester.

To the Reader.

I Think it necessary to inform my Reader that Dr. Gauden (the late Bishop of Worcester) hath also lately wrote and published the Life of Mr. Hooker; and though this be not writ by design to oppose the Life of Mr. Hooker written by him, yet I am put upon a necessity to say, That in it there be many Material Mistakes, and more Omissions. I do conceive some of his Mistakes did proceed from a Belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller, who had too hastily published what he hath since most ingenuously retracted. And for the Bishops Omissions, I suppose his more weighty Business and Want of Time, made him pass over many things without that due Examination, which my better Leisure, my Diligence, and my accidental Advantages, have made known unto me.

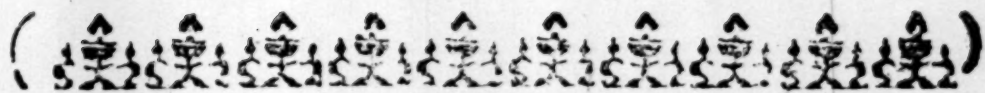
And now for my self, I can say I hope, or rather know, there are no Material Mistakes in what I here present to him that shall become my Reader. Little things that I have received by Tradition (to which there

there may be too much and too little Faith given) I will not at this distance of Time undertake to justifie; for though I have used great Diligence, and compared Relations and Circumstances, and probable Results and Expressions, yet I shall not impose my Belief upon my Reader; I shall rather leave him at liberty: But if there shall appear any Material Omission, I desire every Lover of Truth and the Memory of Mr. Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promise to acknowledge and rectifie any such Mistake in a second Impression, which the Printer says he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) Endeavours may become a better Monument, and in some degree more worthy the Memory of this Venerable Man.

I confess, that when I consider the great Learning and Virtue of Mr. Hooker, and what Satisfaction and Advantages many Eminent Scholars and Admirers of him have had by his Labours; I do not a little wonder that in Sixty years no man did undertake to tell Posterity of the Excellencies of his Life and Learning, and the Accidents of both; and sometimes wonder more
at

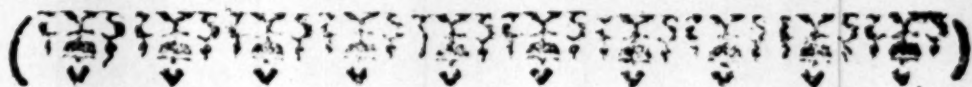
at my self, that I have been persuaded to
it; and indeed I do not easily pronounce
my own Pardon, nor expect that my Rea-
der shall, unless my Introduction shall
prove my Apology.

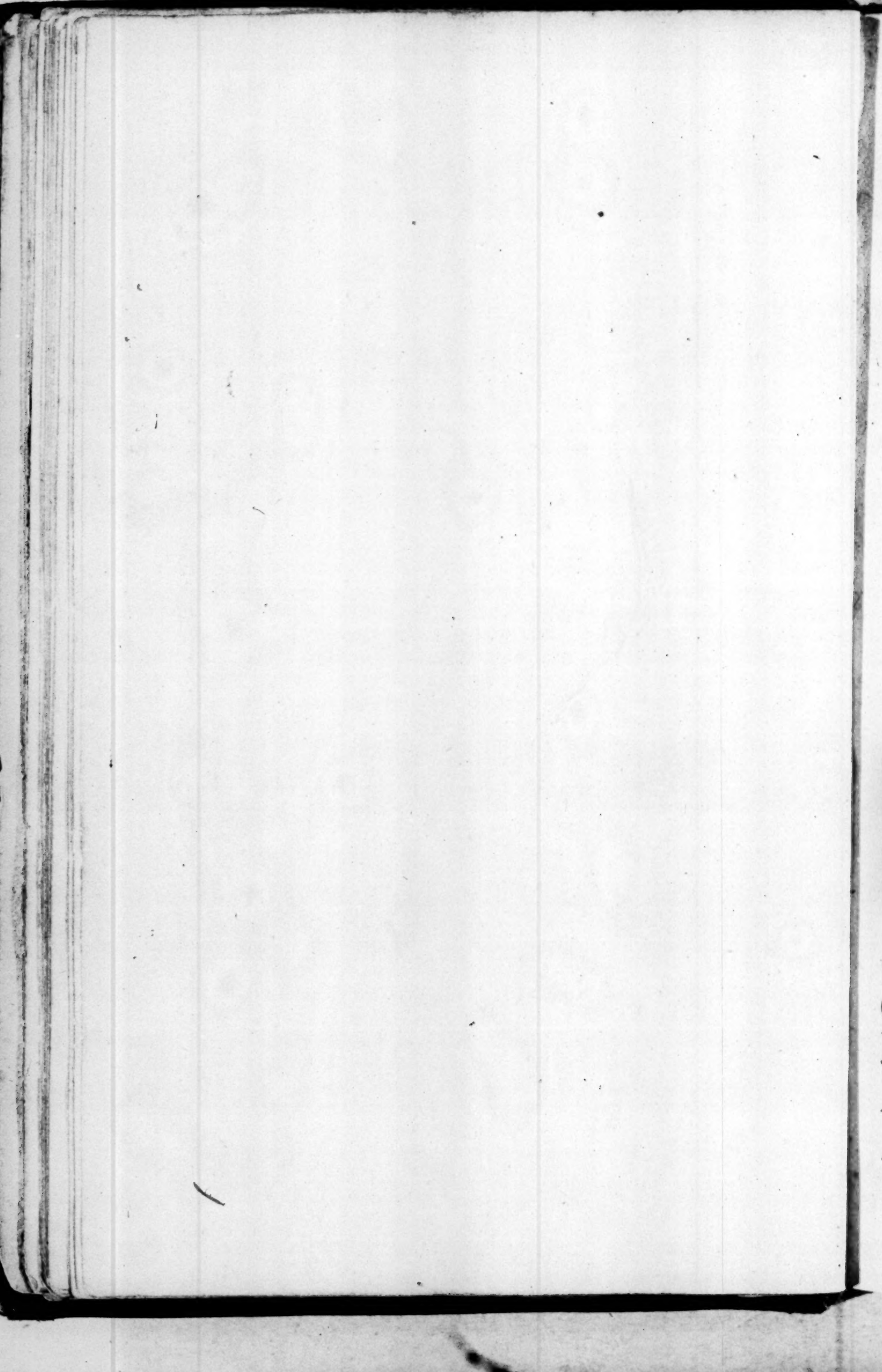
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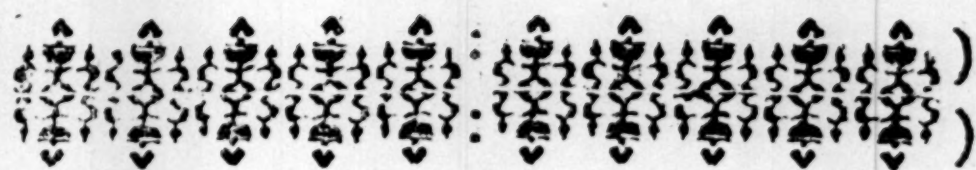


Errata.

PAge 6. line 10. read to my introduction.
p. 58. l. 22. r. vented. p. 106. l. 16. r. of so
great a Controverſie. p. 108. r. many. p. 111.
l. 3. adde Dr. Spencer. p. 113. r. Salisbury.
p. 117. l. 10. r. by it ſelf. p. 137. l. 6. r. facetious.
p. 167. l. 11. after Dr. Abbot adde or the Biſhop of
London. p. 171. l. 2. r. Fabian. *ibid.* l. 5. r. Fabian.







THE LIFE

O F

Mr. Richard Hooker.

The Introduction.



*Have been persuaded, by
a Friend that I ought to
obey, to write The Life of
RICHARD HOOKER,
the happy Author of five (if not more)
of the eight learned Books of The
Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.
And though I have undertaken it, yet it
hath been with some unwillingness ;*
B fore.

foreseeing that it must prove to me, and especially at this time of my Age, a work of much labour to enquire, consider, re-search, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his Life, and must therefore not onely look back to his Death, now 64 years past; but almost 50 years beyond that, even to his Childhood and Youth, and gather thence such Observations and Prognosticks, as may at least adorn, if not prove necessary for the completing of what I have undertaken.

This trouble I foresee; and foresee also that it is impossible to escape Censures; against which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I consider the Age in which I live) and shall therefore but intreat of my Reader a Suspension of them, till I have made known unto him some Reasons,

The Introduction. 3

sons, which I my self would now fain believe do make me in some measure fit for this Undertaking: and if these Reasons shall not acquit me from all Censures, they may at least abate of their severity; and this is all I can probably hope for.

My Reasons follow.

About forty years past (for I am now in the seventieth of my Age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, (now with God) grand Nephew unto the great Archbishop of that name; a Family of noted prudence and resolution; with him and two of his Sisters I had an entire and free friendship: one of them was the Wife of Dr. Spencer, a Bosom-friend, and sometime Com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, and after President of the same. I name them here, for that I shall have

occasion to mention them in this following Discourse ; as also George Cranmer their Brother , of whose useful Abilities my Reader may have a more Authentick Testimony than my Pen can purchase for him, by that of our learned Cambden.

This William Cranmer and his two forenamed Sisters had some affinity, and a most familiar friendship, with Mr. Hooker, and had had some part of their Education with him in his house , when he was Parson of Bishops-Borne near Canterbury, in which City their good Father then lived. They had (I say) a great part of their Education with him, as my self since that time a happy Cohabitation with them ; and having some years before read part of Mr. Hookers Works with great liking and satisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent Inquirer

sitor into many things that concerned him ; as namely, of his Person, his Nature, the Management of his Time, his Wife, his Family, and the Fortune of him and his. Which hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my consideration, and intended for the satisfaction of my Reader.

I had also a friendship with the Reverend Dr. Usher, the late learned Archbishop of Armagh ; and with Dr. Morton, the late learned and charitable Bishop of Durham ; as also with the learned John Hales of Eaton College ; and with them also (who loved the very Name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many discourses concerning him : and from them, and many others that have now put off Mortality, I might have had more Informations, if I could then have admitted a

thought of any fitness for what by persuasion I have now undertaken. But, though that full harvest be irrecoverably lost, yet my Memory hath preserved some gleanings, and my Diligence made such additions to them, as I hope will prove useful to the completing of what I intend. In the discovery of which I shall be faithful, and with this assurance put a period to ^{my} Introduction.

THE LIFE.

IT is not to be doubted but that *Richard Hooker* was born within the Precincts, or in the City, of *Exeter*; a City that may justly boast that it was the Birth-place of him and *Sir Thomas Bodley*; as indeed the County may in which it stands, that it hath furnished this Nation with
Bishop

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 7

Bishop Jewell, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others memorable for their Valour and Learning. He was born about the year of our Redemption 1553, and of Parents that were not so remarkable for their Extraction or Riches, as for their Virtue and Industry, and Gods blessing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their Children in some degree of Learning, of which our *Richard Hooker* may appear to be one fair testimony; and that Nature is not so partial, as always to give the great blessings of Wisdom and Learning, and with them the greater blessings of Virtue and Government, to those onely that are of a more high and honourable Birth.

B 4

His

His Complexion (if we may guess by him at the age of Forty) was Sanguine, with a mixture of Choler; and yet his Motion was slow even in his Youth, and so was his Speech, never expressing an Earnestness in either of them, but a Gravity suitable to the Aged. And 'tis observed (so far as Inquiry is able to look back at this distance of Time) that at his being a School-boy he was an early Questionist, quietly inquisitive *Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? Why this was granted, and that denied?* This being mixt with a remarkable Modesty, and a sweet serene Quietness of Nature, and with them a quick Apprehension of many perplext parts of Learning imposed then upon him as a Scholar, made his Master

ster and others to believe him to have an inward blessed Divine Light, and therefore to consider him to a little wonder. For in that, Children were less pregnant, less confident, and more malleable, than in this wiser, but not better, Age.

This Meekness and conjuncture of Knowledge, with Modesty in his Conversation, being observed by his Schoolmaster, caused him to persuade his Parents (who intended him for an Apprentice) to continue him at School till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich Uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their care and charge; assuring them that their Son was so enriched with the blessings of Nature

ture and Grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special Instrument of his Glory. And the Good man told them also, that he would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other Reward, than the content of so happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his Mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear Child; and all Parties were so pleased with this proposal, that it was resolved so it should be. And in the mean time his Parents and Master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his Soul *the seeds of piety*, those conscientious principles of *Loving and fearing God*; of *A belief that he knows the very secrets of our Souls*;
That

That he punisheth our vices, and rewards our innocence; That we should be free from hypocrisie, and appear to Man what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is catcht in his own snare. These seeds of Piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of Gods blessed Spirit, as hath made *Richard Hooker* honour'd in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding Generations.

This good Schoolmaster, whose Name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better Memorial in this humble Monument, dedicated to the memory of his Scholar) was very sollicitous with *John Hooker*, then Chamberlain of *Exeter*, and Uncle to our *Richard*,
to

to take his Nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some College, still urging and assuring him that his Charge would not continue long, for the Lads Learning and Manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him some second Patron, that would free him and his Parents from their future care and charge.

These Reasons, with the affectionate Rhetorick of his good Master, and Gods blessing upon both, procured from his Uncle a faithful promise that he would take him into his care and charge before

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 13

before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promise was made about the fourth year of the Reign of Queen Mary : and the learned *John Jewell* (after Bishop of *Salisbury*) having been in the first of this Queens Reign expelled out of *Corpus-Christi* College in *Oxford*, (of which he was a Fellow) for adhering to the Truth of those Principles of Religion, to which he had assented in the days of her Brother and Predecessour *Edward* the Sixth ; and he having now a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment than Expulsion, was forced by forsaking this, to seek safety in another Nation, and with that safety the enjoyment of that Doctrine and Worship for which he suffer'd. But

But the Cloud of that Persecution and Fear ending with the Life of Queen *Mary*, the Affairs of the Church and State looked more clear and comfortable; so that he, and many others of the same Judgment, made a happy return into *England* about the first of Queen *Elizabeth*; in which year this *John Jewell* was sent a Commissioner or Visitor of the Churches of the Western parts of this Kingdom, and especially of those in *Devonshire*, in which County he was born, and then and there he contracted a friendship with *John Hooker* the Uncle of our *Richard*.

In the third year of her Reign this *John Jewell* was made Bishop of *Salisbury*, and there being always observed in him a willingness

ness to oblige his Friends, and now a power added to it, *John Hooker* gave him a Visit in *Salisbury*, and besought him for Charity's sake to look favourably upon a poor Nephew of his, whom Nature had fitted for a Scholar, but the Estate of his Parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of Learning; and that the Bishop would therefore become his Patron, and prevent him from being a Tradesman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes. And though the Bishop knew men do not look with an indifferent eye upon their own Children and Relations, yet he assented so far to *John Hooker*, that he appointed the Boy and his Schoolmaster should attend him about Easter next following at that place, which was done accordingly; and then after
some

some Questions and Observations of the Boys gravity and behaviour, the Bishop gave his Schoolmaster a reward, and took order for an annual Pension for the Boy's Parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment, which was performed; for about the fourteenth year of his age, which was *Anno 1567*, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to *Oxford*, and there to attend *Dr. Cole*, then President of *Corpus-Christi College*. Which he did; and *Dr. Cole* had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a Tutor (which was said to be *Dr. John Reynolds*) and a Clarks Place in that College: which Place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the Contribution of his Uncle,

Uncle, and the continued Pension of his Patron the good Bishop, it gave him a comfortable Subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the Eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in Learning and Prudence, and so much in Humility and Piety, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his Mothers womb, who did often bless the Day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age he fell into a dangerous Sicknes, which lasted two moneths ; all which time his Mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earnestly beg his Life of God, as the Mother of *S. Augustine* did that he mig^t become a true Christian ; and their prayers were both so heard as to be granted.

C

Which

Which Mr. *Hooker* would often mention with much joy, and as often pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to his good Mother, whom he loved so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good even as much for hers as for his own sake.

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this Sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to satisfy and see his good Mother, being accompanied with a Countreyman and Companion of his own College, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of Money, or their Humility made it so: But on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. *Hooker* and his Companion dine with him at his own Table; which

which Mr. *Hooker* boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his Mother and Friends : And at the Bishops parting with him, the Bishop gave him good counsel and his Benediction, but forgot to give him Money ; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a Servant in all haste to call *Richard* back to him, and at *Richards* return the Bishop said, *Richard*, I sent for you back to lend you a Horse, which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease ; and presently delivered into his hand a Walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of *Germany* ; and he said, *Richard*, I do not give, but lend, you my Horse ; be sure you be honest, and bring my Horse back to me at your

return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten Groats to bear your charges to Exeter ; and here is ten Groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your Mother, and tell her, I send her a Bishops blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my Horse back to me, I will give you ten Groats more to carry you on foot to the College ; and so God bless you, good Richard.

And this, you may believe, was performed by both Parties. But, alas ! the next news that followed Mr. *Hooker* to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable Patron had changed this for a better Life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer ; and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question,

on, Whether his last Ejaculations, or his Soul, did first enter into Heaven?

And now Mr. *Hooker* became a Man of Sorrow and Fear; of Sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a Patron; and of Fear, for his future Subsistence. But Dr. *Cole* raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his Studies, and assuring him he should neither want Food nor Raiment, (which was the utmost of his hopes) for he would become his Patron.

And so he was for about nine moneths, and not longer; for about that time this following accident did befall Mr. *Hooker*.

Edwin Sandys (then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of York) had also been in the days of

Queen Mary forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another Nation; where for many years Bishop *Jewell* and he were Companions at Bed and Board in *Germany*, and where in this their Exile they did often eat the bread of sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as lasted till the death of Bishop *Jewell*, which was 1571. A little before which time the two Bishops meeting, *Jewell* began a story of his *Richard Hooker*, and in it gave such a Character of his Learning and Manners, that though Bishop *Sandys* was educated in *Cambridge*, where he had obliged and had many Friends; yet his resolution was, that his Son *Edwin* should be sent to *Corpus-Christi* College in *Oxford*, and by a'll means be Pupil to
Mr.

Mr. *Hooker*, though his Son *Edwin* was then almost of the same Age; for the Bishop said, *I will have a Tutor for my Son that shall teach him Learning by Instruction, and Virtue by Example; and my greatest care shall be of the last, and (God willing) this Richard Hooker shall be the Man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin.* And the Bishop did so about twelve moneths after this resolution.

And doubtless as to these two a better choice could not be made; for Mr. *Hooker* was now in the nineteenth year of his age, had spent five in the University, and had by a constant unwearied diligence attained unto a perfection in all the learned Languages; and by the help of them, an excellent Tutor, and an unintermitted

Study, had made the subtilty of all the Arts easie and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such Learning as lay hid from common Searchers; so that by these added to his great Reason, and his Industry added to both, *He did not onely know more, but what he knew he knew better than other men.*

And with this Knowledge he had a most blessed and clear Method of Demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his Pupils, (which in time were many) but especially to his two first, his dear *Edwin Sandys*, and his as dear *George Cranmer*, of which there will be a fair Testimony in the ensuing Relation.

This for his Learning. And for his Behaviour, amongst other Testimonies this still remains of him,

him, That in four years he was but twice absent from the Chapel prayers ; and that his Behaviour there was such as shewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worshipped and prayed to ; giving all outward testimonies that his Affections were set on heavenly things. This was his Behaviour towards God ; and for that to Man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his Desires ; never heard to repine or dispute with Providence, but by a quiet gentle submission bore the burthen of the day with patience ; never heard to utter an uncomly word : and by this and a grave Behaviour, which is a Divine Charm, he begot an early Reverence unto his Person, even from

from those that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of Behaviour and Discourse that is required in a Collegiate Life. And when he took any liberty to be pleasant, his Wit was never blemisht with Scoffing, or the utterance of any Conceit that border'd upon, or might beget a thought of Loosness in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his Behaviour in his College, and thus this Good man continued till his death, still increasing in Learning, in Patience, and Piety.

In this nineteenth year of his age he was chosen, *December 24. 1573*, to be one of the twenty Scholars of the Foundation, being elected and admitted as born in
Devon.

Devon-shire, out of which County a certain number are to be elected in Vacancies by the Founders Statutes. And now he was much encouraged, for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved College, which was then noted for an eminent Library, strict Students, and remarkable Scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Bishop *Jewel*, Doctor *John Reynolds*, and Doctor *Tho. Jackson* of that Foundation; The First, famous by his Learned Apologie for the Church of *England*, and his Defence of it against *Harding*. The Second, for the learned and wise Menage of a publique Dispute with *John Hart* about the Head and Faith of the Church, and now printed. And the Third, for his most excellent Exposition of the Creed,

Creed, and other Treatises : All such as have given greatest satisfaction to men of the greatest Learning. Nor was this man more Note-worthy for his Learning, than for his strict and pious Life, testified by his abundant love and charity to all men.

And in the year 1576. *Febr. 23.* his Grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts, Doctor *Herbert Westphaling*, a man of note for Learning, being then Vice-chancellour. The Act following he was compleated Master, which was *Anno 1577.* his Patron Doctor *Cole* being Vice-chancellour that year, and his dear friend *Henry Savill* of *Merton College* being then one of the Proctors. 'Twas that *Henry Savill*, that was after *Sir Hen: Savill*, Warden of *Merton College*, and Pro-
vost

voſt of *Eaton*: He which founded in *Oxford* two famous Lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance.

'Twas that Sir *Henry Savill*, that tranſlated and enlightned the *Annals* of *Cornelius Tacitus*, with a moſt excellent Comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the ſcatter'd pieces of S. *Chryſoſtome*, and the publication of them in one entire Body in Greek; in which Language he was a moſt judicious Critick. 'Twas this Sir *Hen: Savill*, that had the happineſſe to be a Contemporary, and familiar friend to Mr. *Hooker*, and let Poſterity know it.

And in this year of 1577. he was choſen Fellow of the College; Happy alſo in being the Contemporary

porary and Friend of Dr. *John Reynolds*, of whom I have lately spoken; and of Dr. *Spencer*: both which were after, and successively, made Presidents of *Corpus-Christi College*; men of great Learning and Merit, and famous in their Generations.

Nor was Mr. *Hooker* more happy in his Contemporaries of his Time and College, than in the Pupillage and Friendship of his *Edwin Sandys* and *George Cranmer*; of whom my Reader may note, that this *Edwin Sandys* was after *Sir Edwin Sandys*, and as famous for his *Speculum Europæ*, as his brother *George* for making Posterity beholden to his Pen by a learned Relation and Comment on his remarkable *Travels*; and for his harmonious Translation of the *Psalms*

Psalms of David, the Book of *Job*, and other Poetical parts of Holy Writ, into most high and elegant Verse. And for *Cranmer*, his other Pupil, I shall refer my Reader to the Testimonies of our learned Mr. *Cambden*, the Lord *Tottenes*, *Fines*, *Morison*, and others.

“ This *Cranmer*, whose Christen
“ name was *George*, was a Gentle-
“ man of singular hopes, the eldest
“ Son of *Thomas Cranmer*, Son of
“ *Edward Cranmer*, the Archbishops
“ Brother : he spent much of his
“ Youth in *Corpus-Christi* College in
“ *Oxford*, where he continued
“ Master of Arts for many years
“ before he removed, and then
“ betook himself to Travel, ac-
“ companying that worthy Gen-
“ tleman Sir *Edwin Sandys* into
“ *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, for the
space

“ space of three years; and after
“ their happy return he betook
“ himself to an Employment under
“ Secretary *Davison*, after whose
“ Fall he went in place of Secre-
“ tary with Sir *Henry Killigrew* in
“ his Embassage into *France*; and
“ after his death he was sought af-
“ ter by the most Noble Lord
“ *Mount-joy*, with whom he went
“ into *Ireland*, where he remained
“ untill in a battel against the Re-
“ bels, near *Carlingford*, an unfor-
“ tunate wound put an end both
“ to his Life, and the great Hopes
“ that were conceived of him.

Betwixt Mr. *Hooker* and these
his two Pupils there was a sacred
Friendship, a Friendship made up
of Religious Principles, which
increased daily by a similitude of
Inclinations to the same Recrea-
tions

tions and Studies; a Friendship elemented in Youth, and in an University, free from self-ends, which usually the Friendships of Age are not: and in this sweet, this blessed, this spiritual Amity they went on for many years; and, as the holy Prophet saith, *so they took sweet counsel together, and walked in the House of God as Friends.* By which means they improved it to such a degree of Amity as bordered upon Heaven; a Friendship so sacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it shall have no end.

And, though this World cannot give any degree of Pleasure equal to such a Friendship, yet Obedience to Parents, and a desire to know the Affairs, and Manners,
D and

and Learning of other Nations, that they might thereby become the more serviceable unto their own, made them put off their Gowns, and leave Mr. *Hooker* to his College. Where he was daily more assiduous in his Studies, still enriching his quiet and capacious Soul with the precious Learning of the Philosophers, Casuists and Schoolmen; and with them the Foundation and Reason of all Laws, both Sacred and Civil: and with such other Learning as lay most remote from the track of common Studies. And as he was diligent in these, so he seemed restless in searching the scope and intention of Gods Spirit revealed to Mankind in the sacred Scripture: for the understanding of which he seemed to be assisted by
the

the same Spirit with which they were written; and he would often say, *The Scripture was not writ to beget Pride and Disputations, and Opposition to Government; but Humility, and Obedience, and Peace, and Piety in Mankind.* And that this was really his Judgment, did appear in his future Writings, and in all the Actions of his Life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and aëry parts of Learning, as Musick and Poëtry; all which he had digested and made useful, and of all which the Reader will have a fair testimony in what follows.

Thus he continued his Studies in all quietness for the space of three or more years; about which time he entered into Sacred Orders, and was made Deacon and

Priest ; and not long after, in obedience to the College Statutes, he was to preach either at *S. Peters Oxford*, or at *S. Pauls Cross London*, and the last fell to his allotment.

In order to which Sermon, to *London* he came, and immediately to the *Shunamites house* ; which is a House so called, for that, besides the Stipend paid the Preacher, there is provision made also for his Lodging and Diet two days before and one day after his Sermon ; this House was then kept by *John Churchman*, sometimes a Draper of good note in *Watling-street*, upon whom Poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a Necelsitous condition ; which, though it be a punishment, is not always an argument of Gods disfavour, for
he

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 37

he was a good man : I shall not yet give the like testimony of his Wife, but leave the Reader to judge by what follows. But to this House Mr. *Hooker* came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a Friend that dissuaded him from Footing it to *London*, and for finding him no easier an Horse, supposing the Horse trotted when he did not ; and at this time also such a Faintness and Fear possessed him, that he would not be persuaded two days Quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to preach his Sundays Sermon : but a warm Bed, and Rest, and Drink proper for a Cold given him by Mrs. *Churchman*, and her diligent Attendance

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added

added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day; which was in or about the year 1581.

And in this first publick appearance to the World, he was not so happy as to be free from Exceptions against a point of Doctrine delivered in his Sermon, which was, *That in God there were two Wills, an Antecedent, and a Consequent Will; his first Will that all mankind should be saved; but his second Will was, that those onely should be saved that did live answerable to that degree of Grace which he had offered or afforded them.* This seemed to cross a late Opinion of Mr. Calvins, and then taken for granted by many that had not a Capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and hath been since by Dr. Jackson and Dr. Hammond, who believe that a contrary Opinion

nion trenches upon the Honour and Justice of God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. *Hooker* declares in his Answer to Mr. *Travers*) by *John Elmer*, then Bishop of *London*, at this time one of his Auditors, and at last one of his Advocates too, when Mr. *Hooker* was accused for it.

But the Justifying of this Doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the Kindness of Mrs. *Churchmans* curing him of his late Distemper and Cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. *Hooker*, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said; so that the Good man came to be persuaded by her, that he was a man of a tender constitu-

tion, and that it was best for him to have a Wife, that might prove a Nurse to him, such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable ; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry. And he not considering that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light, but, like a true Nathanael, fearing no guile, because he meant none, did give her such a power as Eleazar was trusted with when he was sent to chuse a Wife for Isaac ; for he trusted her to chuse for him, promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice. And he did so. Now the Wife provided for him was her Daughter Joan, who brought him neither Beauty nor Portion ; and for her Conditions, they were

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 41

too like that Wife's which is by Solomon compar'd to a dripping house; so that he had no reason to *rejoyce in the Wife of his youth*, but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, *Wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar.*

This Choice of Mr. *Hookers* (if it were his Choice) may be wondered at; but let us consider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* says, *There is a wheel within a wheel*, a secret sacred Wheel of Providence (especially in Marriages) guided by his hand that *allows not the race to the swift, nor bread to the wise, nor good Wives to good Men*: and he that can bring good out of evil, (for Mortals are blind to this Reason) onely knows why this blessing was denied to patient *Job*, and (as
some

some think) to meek *Moses*, and to our as meek and patient *Mr. Hooker*. But so it was; and let the Reader cease to wonder, for *Affliction is a Divine diet*, which though it be not pleasing to Mankind, yet Almighty God hath often imposed it as Physick to those children whose Souls are dearest to him.

And by this means the Good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his College; from that Garden of Piety, of Pleasure, of Peace, and a sweet Conversation, into the thorny Wilderness of a busie World; into those corroding cares that attend a married Priest, and a Countrey Parsonage, which was *Draiton Beauchamp* in *Buckingham-shire*, not far from *Alesbury*, and in the Diocese of *Lincoln*; to which

which he was presented by *John Cheny* Esquire, then Patron of it, the 9. of *December*, 1594. where he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of Evil, but (as *S. Paul* adviseth a Minister of God) in much patience, in afflictions, in anguishes, in necessities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-suffering : yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two Pupils, *Edwin Sandys* and *George Craumer*, were returned from Travel, and took a journey to see their Tutor, where they found him with a Book in his hand, (it was the *Odes* of *Horace*) he being then tending his small allotment of Sheep in a common Field, which he told his Pupils he
was

was forced to do, for that his Servant was gone home to dine, and assist his Wife to do some necessary household business. When his Servant returned and released him, his two Pupils attended him unto his House, where their best Entertainment was his Company, which was presently denied them, for *Richard* was call'd to rock the Cradle; and the rest of their Welcome was so like this, that they staid but till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their Tutors condition; and having given him as much present comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his Wife *Joan*, and seek themselves a quieter Lodging.

At their returns to *London*, *Edwin Sandys* acquaints his Father, then Arch-

Archbishop of York, with his Tutors sad condition, and solicits for his removal to some Benefice that might give him a more comfortable subsistence ; which his Father did most willingly grant him, when it should next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, Mr. *Alvie* (Master of the Temple) died, who was a man of a strict Life, of great Learning, and of so venerable Behaviour, as to gain such a degree of love and reverence from all men, that he was generally known by the name of FATHER ALVIE. At the Temple Reading, next after the death of this *Father Alvie*, the Archbishop of York being then at Dinner with the Judges, the Reader, and Benchers of that Society, met with a Condolence for

for the Death of *Father Alvie*, an high commendation of his Saint-like Life, and of his great Merit both to God and Man : and as they bewail'd his Death, so they wisht for a like Patern of Virtue and Learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Bishop to commend Mr. *Hooker* to *Father Alvies* Place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other Testimonies of his worth, that Mr. *Hooker* was sent for from *Draiton Beauchamp* to *London*, and there the Mastership of the Temple propos'd unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from Cares, and the advantage of a better Society, and a more liberal Pension than his Countrey Parsonage did afford him.

him. But these Reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it : his wish was rather to gain a better Countrey Living, where he might see Gods blessings spring out of the Earth, and be free from Noise, (so he exprest the desire of his Heart) and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this aversness, he was at last persuaded to accept of the Bishops Proposal; and was by * Patent for Life made Master of the Temple the 17. of March, 1585.

* This you may find in the Temple Records. William Ermostead was Master of the Temple at the Dissolution of the Priory, and died 2. Eliz.

Richard Alvey Bat. Divinity, pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. Magister sine Custos Domus & Ecclesie novi Templi, died 27 Eliz.

Richard Hooker succeeded that year by Patent in terminis as Alvey had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.

That year Dr. Balgey succeeded Richard Hooker.

And

And here I shall make a stop ; and, that the Reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a Character of the Times, and Temper of the people of this Nation, when Mr. *Hooker* had his Admission into this Place. A Place which he accepted, rather than desired ; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness, that blessed Tranquillity which he always prayed and labour'd for ; that so he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorifie God by uninterrupted prayers and praises : for this he always thirsted, and yet this was denied him. For his Admission into this Place was the very beginning of those Oppositions and Anxieties, which till then this Good man was a stranger to,
and

and of which the Reader may guess by what follows.

In this Character of the Times, I shall, by the Readers favour and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*; a time in which *the many pretended Titles to the Crown, the frequent Treasons, the Doubts of her Successour, the late Civil War, and the sharp Persecution that rag'd to the effusion of so much Bloud in the Reign of Queen Mary,* were fresh in the memory of all men, and begot fears in the most Pious and Wildest of this Nation, lest the like days should return again to them or their present Posterity. And the apprehension of these Dangers begot a hearty desire of a Settlement in the Church and State; believing there was no other pro-

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bable way left to make them sit quietly under their own Vines and Fig-trees, and enjoy the desired fruit of their Labours. But *Time*, and *Peace*, and *Plenty*, begot *Self-ends*; and these begot *Animosities*, *Envy*, *Opposition*, and *Unthankfulness* for thole very blessings for which they lately thirsted, being then the utmost of their Desires, and even beyond their Hopes.

This was the temper of the Times in the beginning of her Reign; and thus it continued too long: For those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a Reformation from *Rome*, became at last so like the Grave, as never to be satisfied; but were still thirsting for more and more, neglecting to pay that Obedience, and perform those Vows

Vows which they made in their days of Adversities and Fear: so that in short time there appeared three several Interests; each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their Designs; they may for distinction be called The active Romanists, The restless Non-conformists (of which there were many sorts) and The passive peaceable Protestant. The Counsels of the first considered and resolved on in *Rome*: the second in *Scotland*, in *Geneva*, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous Conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own Nation: the third pleaded and defended their Cause by Establishd Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroy-

ing what was by those known Laws happily establisht to them and their Posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the many and dangerous Plots of the Romanists against the Church and State, because what is principally intended in this Digression, is an account of the Opinions and Activity of the Non-conformists; against whose judgment and practice, Mr. *Hooker* became at last, but most unwillingly, to be engaged in a Book-war; a war which he maintained not as against an Enemy, but with the spirit of Meekness and Reason.

In which number of Non-conformists, though some might be sincere and well-meaning men, yet of this Party there were many that were possess'd with an high degree

gree of Spiritual wickedness; I mean with an innate radical Pride and Malice; I mean not those lesser sins that are more visible and more properly carnal, as Gluttony, & Drunkenness, and the like, (from which good Lord deliver us;) but sins of an higher nature, more unlike to the nature of God, which is Love, and Mercy, and Peace; and more like the Devil, (who cannot be drunk, and yet is a Devil) those wickednesses of Malice, and Revenge, and Opposition, and a Complacence in working and beholding Confusion, which are more properly his work, and greater sins, though many will not believe it; Men whom a furious Zele and Prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing Reason, or adhe-

ring to the ways of Peace; Men whom Pride and a Self-conceit had made to overvalue their own Wisdom, and become pertinacious, and dispute against those Laws which they ought to obey; Men that labour'd and joyed to speak evil of Government, and then to be the Authors of Confusion; whom Company, and Conversation, and Custom had blinded, and made insensible that these were Errours; and at last became so hardened, that they died without repenting these spiritual wickednesses.

And in these times which tended thus to Confusion, there were also many others that pretended a Tenderness of Conscience, refusing to take an Oath before a lawful Magistrate; and yet in their
secret

secret Conventicles did covenant and swear to each other, to be faithful in using their best endeavours to set up the Presbyterian Discipline. To which end there were many that wandered up and down, and were active in sowing Discontents and Sedition, by venomous and secret Murmurings, and a Dispersion of scurrilous Pamphlets and Libels against the Church and State, but especially against the Bishops: by which means, together with indiscreet Sermons, the Common people became so Phanatick, as to believe *the Bishops to be Antichrist*, and the onely Obstructors of Gods Discipline; and then given over to such a desperate delusion, as to find out a Text in the *Revelation of S. John*, that *Antichrist was to be overcome by*

the sword. So that those very men, that began with tender and meek *Petitions*, proceeded to *Admonitions*, then to *Satyrical Remonstrances*, and at last, having numbered who was not, and who was, for their Cause, they got a supposed Certainty of so great a Party, that they durst threaten first *the Bishops*, then *the Queen and Parliament* ; to all which they were secretly encouraged by the *Earl of Leicester*, then in great favour with her, and the reputed Cherisher and Patron general of these pretenders to *Tenderness of Conscience*; his Design being by their means to bring such an *odium* upon the *Bishops*, as to procure an Alienation of their Lands, and a large proportion of them for himself: which Avaritious desire had so blinded his Reason,

Reason, that his ambitious and greedy Hopes had almost put him into present possession of *Lambeth-house*.

And to these Undertakings the Non-conformists of this Nation were much encouraged and heightened by a Correspondence and Confederacy with that Brotherhood in *Scotland*; so that here they became so bold, that * one told the Queen openly in a Sermon, *She was like an untamed Heifer, that would not be ruled by Gods people, but obstructed his Discipline*. And in *Scotland* they were more confident, for there † they declared her an *Atheist*, and grew to such an height, as not to be accountable for any thing spoken

* Mr. Dering.

† Vide Bishop Spotswoods Hist. of the Church of Scotl.
against

against her, nor for Treason against their own King, if spoken in the Pulpit; shewing at last such a disobedience to him, that his Mother being in *England*, and then in distress, and in prison, and in danger of Death, the Church denied the King their prayers for her: and at another time, when he had appointed a Day of Feasting, the Church declared for a general Fast, in opposition to his Authority.

To this height they were grown in both Nations, and by these means there was distill'd into the minds of the Common people such other venemous and turbulent Principles, as were inconsistent with the safety of the Church and State: and these vented vented ~~so~~ so daringly, that, beside
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the loss of Life and Limbs, they were forced to use such other Severities as will not admit of an Excuse, if it had not been to prevent Confusion, and the consequence of it, which without such prevention would have been Ruine and Misery to this numerous Nation.

These Errours and Animosities were so remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who being about this time come newly into this Nation, writ pleasantly to a Friend in his own Countrey, "That the Common people of *England* were wiser than the wisest of his wiser Nation; for here the very Women and Shopkeepers were able to judge of Predestination, and determine what Laws were fit
to

“to be made concerning Church-
“government, then what were
“fit to be obeyed or abolisht.
“That they were more able (or
“at least thought so) to raise and
“determine perplext Cases of
“Conscience, than the wisest of
“the most learned Colleges in *Italy*.
“That men of the slightest Lear-
“ning, and the most Ignorant of
“the Common people, were mad
“for a *Super=* or *Re=*reformation of
“Religion; and that in this *they*
“appeared like that man, who would
“never cease to whet and whet his knife,
“till there was no Steel left to make it
“useful. And he concluded his
Letter with this Observation,
“That those very men that were
“most busie in Oppositions, and
“Disputations, and Controver-
“sies, had usually the least of Hu-
mility

“mility and Mortification, or of
“the power of Godliness.

And to heighten all these Discontents and Dangers, there was also sprung up a Generation of Godless men ; men that had so often and so long opposed the blessed motions of his Spirit, and the inward light of their own Consciences, that they had thereby sinned themselves into a Belief which they would, but could not believe ; into a Belief which is not in Nature, (for the Heathens believe that there are many Gods) into a Belief that there is no God. Into this Reprobate condition many had then sinned themselves.

And now when the Church was pestered with them, and with all these other Irregularities, when
her

her Lands were in danger of Alienation, her Power at least neglected, and her Peace torn to pieces by several Schisms, and such Heresies as do usually attend that sin; When the Common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be applauded and pitied, when they called the Spirit of Opposition a Tender Conscience, and complained of Persecution because they wanted power to persecute others: When the giddy Multitude raged, and became restless to find out Misery for themselves and others; and the Rabble would herd themselves together, and would govern and act in spite of Authority. In this Extremity, Fear, and Danger
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of the Church and State, when to suppress the growing Evils of both they needed a man of Prudence & Piety, and of an high and fearless Fortitude, they were blest in all by *John Whitgift* his being made Archbishop of *Canterbury*; of whom *Sir Hen. Wotton* (that knew him well) gives this true Character, *That he was a man of Reverend and Sacred memory, and of the Primitive temper; such a temper, as when the Church by lowliness of Spirit did flourish in high examples of Virtue.*

And though I dare not undertake to add to his Character, yet I shall neither do right to this Discourse, nor to my Reader, if I forbear to give him a further and short account of the Life and Manners of this Excellent Man: and it shall be short, for I long to
end

end this Digression, that I may lead my Reader back to Mr. *Hooker*, where we left him at the *Temple*.

John Whitgift was born in the County of *Lincoln*, of a Family that was ancient, and noted to be both Affable and Gentile by nature: he was educated in *Cambridge*, much of his Learning was acquired in *Pembroke-hall*, (where Mr. *Bradford* the Martyr was his Tutor) from thence he was remov'd to *Peter-house*, from thence to be Master of *Pembroke-hall*, and from thence to the Mastership of *Trinity College*. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain, and not long after Prebend of *Ely*, and then Dean of *Lincoln*; and having for many years past lookt upon him with much Reverence and Favour,

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 63

Favour, gave him a fair testimony of both, by giving him the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and forgiving him his First-fruits; then by constituting him Vice-President of the Principality of *Wales*. And having experimented his Wisdom, his Justice, and Moderation in the menage of her Affaires, in both these places; She in the 26. of her Reign made him Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and not long after of her Privy Council, and trusted him to manage all her Ecclesiastical Affairs and Preferments. In all which Removes he was like the Ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in all his Employments was like *Jehoida*, that did good unto *Israel*.

These were the steps of this
F Bishops

Bishops Ascension to this place of Dignity and Cares ; in which place (to speak Mr. *Cambdens* very words) *he devoutly consecrated both his whole Life to God, and his painful Labours to the good of his Church.* And yet in this place he met with many Oppositions in the Regulation of Church-affairs, which were much disordered at his entrance, by reason of the age and remisness of Bishop *Grindall*, his immediate Predecessour, the Activity of the Non-conformists, and their chief Assistant the *Earl of Leicester*, and by others of the like Sacrilegious Principles. With these he was to encounter ; and though he wanted neither Courage nor a Good Cause, yet he foresaw that without a great measure of the Queens Favour, it was impossible

to stand in the Breach that was made into the Lands and Immunities of the Church, or to maintain the remaining Rights of it. And therefore by justifiable sacred Insinuations, such as S. Paul to Agrippa; (*Agrippa, believest thou? I know thou believest*) he wrought himself into so great a degree of Favour with her, as by his pious use of it hath got both of them a greater degree of Fame in this world, and of Glory in that into which they are now entred.

His Merits to the Queen, and her Favours to him were such, that *she called him her little black Husband*, and called his Servants *her Servants*: and she saw so visible and blessed a Sincerity shine in all his Cares and Endeavours for the Churches and for her good, that

she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her Soul, and to make him her Confessour : Of which she gave many fair testimonies ; and of which one was, that *she would never eat Flesh in Lent without obtaining a Licence from her little black Husband* : and would often say, *She pittied him because she trusted him, and had eased herself by laying all her Clergie-cares upon his shoulders, which he managed with prudence and piety.*

I shall not keep my self within the promised Rules of Brevity in this account of his Interest with Her Majesty, and his Care of the Churches Rights, if in this Digression I should enlarge to particulars ; and therefore my desire is, that one Example may serve for a Testimony of both. And that
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the Reader may the better understand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbishop, there passed an Act or Acts of Parliament intending the better Preservation of Church Lands, by recalling a Power which was in others to sell or Lease them, by lodging and trusting the future Care and Protection of them in the Crown; And amongst many that made a bad use of this Power or Trust of the Queens, the *Earl of Leicester* was one; and the Bishop having by his Interest with Her Majesty put a stop to the Earls Sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open Opposition before her; after which they both quitted the Room, not Friends in appearance. But the Bishop made a sudden and

a seasonable return to Her Majesty, (for he found her alone) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpose.

‘ I beseech your Majesty to hear
‘ me with patience, and to believe
‘ that yours and the Churches
‘ Safety are dearer to me than my
‘ Life, but my Conscience dearer
‘ than both: and therefore give
‘ me leave to do my Duty, and
‘ tell you that Princes are deputed
‘ Nursing Fathers of the Church,
‘ and owe it a Protection; and
‘ therefore God forbid that you
‘ should be so much as Passive in
‘ her Ruines, when you may pre-
‘ vent it; or that I should behold
‘ it without horreur and detesta-
‘ tion, or should forbear to tell
‘ your Majesty of the Sin and
‘ Danger. And though you and
my

' my self are born in an Age of
 ' Frailties, when the Primitive
 ' Piety and Care of the Churches
 ' Lands and Immunities are much
 ' decayed ; yet (Madam) let us
 ' first consider that there are such
 ' sins as Prophaneness and Sacri-
 ' lege ; and that if there were not,
 ' they could not have Names in
 ' Holy Writ, and particularly in
 ' the New Testament. And I be-
 ' seech you to consider, that
 ' though our Saviour said, *He jud-*
 ' *ged no man* ; and to testifie it,
 ' would not judge nor divide the
 ' Inheritance betwixt the two
 ' Brethren, nor judge the Woman
 ' taken in Adultery ; yet in this
 ' point of the Churches Rights he
 ' was so zealous, that he made him-
 ' self both the Accuser, and the
 ' Judge, and the Executioner to

‘punish these sins; witnessed in
‘that he himself made the Whip to
‘drive the Prophaners out of the
‘Temple, overthrew the Tables of
‘the Money-changers, and drove
‘them out of it. And consider
‘that *S. Paul* said to those Christi-
‘ans of his time that were offend-
‘ed with Idolatry, yet *Thou that*
‘*abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sa-*
‘*crilege?* Supposing I think Sa-
‘crilege the greater sin. This may
‘occasion your Majesty to consi-
‘der that there is such a sin as Sa-
‘crilege; and to incline you to
‘prevent the Curse that will fol-
‘low it, I beseech you also to con-
‘sider that *Constantine* the first
‘Christian Emperour, and *Helena*
‘his Mother, that King *Edgar*, and
‘*Edward the Confessour*, and indeed
‘many others of your Predeces-
sours,

‘sours, and many private Chri-
‘stians, have also given to God
‘and to his Church, much Land
‘and many Immunities, which
‘they might have given to those of
‘their own Families, and did not;
‘but gave them as an abso-
‘lute Right and Sacrifice to God:
‘And with these Immunities and
‘Lands they have entail’d a Curse
‘upon the Alienators of them;
‘God prevent your Majesty from
‘being liable to that Curse.

‘And, to make you that are
‘trusted with their Preservation,
‘the better to understand the dan-
‘ger of it, I beseech you forget
‘not, that, besides these Curses,
‘the Churches Land and Power
‘have been also endeavoured to be
‘preserved, as far as Humane
‘Reason and the Law of this Na-
tion

‘tion have been able to preserve
‘them, by an immediate and
‘most sacred Obligation on the
‘Consciences of the Princes of this
‘Realm. For they that consult
‘*Magna Charta* shall find, that as
‘all your Predecessours were at
‘their Coronation, so you also
‘were sworn before all the Nobi-
‘lity and Bishops then present,
‘and in the presence of God, and
‘in his stead to him that anointed
‘you, *To maintain the Church Lands,*
‘*and the Rights belonging to it ;* and
‘this testified openly at the holy
‘Altar, by laying your Hands on
‘the Bible then lying upon it. And
‘not onely *Magna Charta*, but ma-
‘ny modern Statutes have de-
‘nounced a Curse upon those that
‘break *Magna Charta*. And now
‘what account can be given for
the

‘ the breach of this Oath at the last
‘ Great Day, either by Your Ma-
‘ jesty, or by me, if it be wilfully,
‘ or but negligently violated, I
‘ know not.

‘ And therefore, good Madam,
‘ let not the late Lords Exceptions
‘ against the failings of some few
‘ Clergie-men, prevail with you
‘ to punish Posterity, for the Er-
‘ rors of this present Age ; let par-
‘ ticular Men suffer for their parti-
‘ cular Errors, but let God and his
‘ Church have their right ; And let
‘ Posterity take notice of what is
‘ already become visible in many
‘ Families, *That Church-land added to*
‘ *an ancient Inheritance, hath proved*
‘ *like a Moth fretting a Garment, and*
‘ *secretly consume both :* Or like the
‘ Eagle that stole a coale from the
‘ Altar, and thereby set her Nest
‘ on

‘on fire, which consumed both
‘her young Eagles, and her selfe
‘that stole it. And though I shall
‘forbear to speak reproachfully of
‘your Father, yet I beg you to take
‘notice, that a part of the Churchs
‘Rights, added to the vast
‘Treasure left him by his Father,
‘hath been conceived to bring an
‘unavoidable Consumption upon
‘both, notwithstanding all his diligence
‘to preserve it.

‘And consider that after the violation
‘of those Laws, to which
‘he had sworn in *Magna Charta*,
‘God did so far deny him his Restraining
‘Grace, that he fell into
‘greater sins than I am willing to
‘mention. Madam, *Religion is the*
‘*Foundation and Cement of humane Soci-*
‘*eties*: and when they that serve
‘at Gods Altar shall be exposed to

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‘ Poverty, then Religion it self
‘ will be exposed to Scorn, and
‘ become contemptible, as you
‘ may already observe in too many
‘ poor Vicaridges in this Nation.
‘ And therefore as you are by a
‘ late Act or Acts entrusted with a
‘ great Power to preserve or waste
‘ the Churches Lands, yet dispose of
‘ them for Jesus sake as the Do-
‘ nors intended; let neither Fal-
‘ shood nor Flattery beguile you
‘ to do otherwise, and put a stop
‘ (I beseech you) to the approach-
‘ ing Ruines of Gods Church, as
‘ you expect comfort at the last
‘ Great day; *for Kings must be judg-*
‘ *ed.* Pardon this affectionate
‘ plainness, my most dear Sove-
‘ reign, and let me still be conti-
‘ nued in your Favour, and the
‘ Lord still continue you in his.

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The Queens patient hearing this affectionate Speech, and her future care to preserve the Churches Rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair Testimony, that he made hers and the Churches Good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so. And of this there were such daily testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other; she not doubting his Piety to be more than all his Opposers, which were many; nor his Prudence equal to the chiefest of her Council, who were then as remarkable for Wisdom, as those dangerous Times did require, or this Nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition
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he continued twenty years; in which time he saw some Flowings, but many more Ebbings of her Favour towards all men that opposed him, especially the *Earl of Leicester*: so that God seemed still to keep him in her Favour, that he might preserve the remaining Church Lands and Immunities from Sacrilegious Alienations. And this Good man deserved all the Honour and Power with which she trusted him; for he was a Pious man, and naturally of Noble and Grateful Principles: he eased her of all her Church-cares by his wise Menage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent Counsels in all the Extremities and Dangers of her Temporal Affairs, which were many; he lived to be the chief Comfort of
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her Life in her Declining age, to be then most frequently with her, and her Assistant at her private Devotions, to be the greatest Comfort of her Soul upon her Death-bed, to be present at the Expiration of her last Breath, and to behold the closing of those Eyes that had long looked upon him with Reverence and Affection. And let this also be added, that he was the Chief Mourner at her sad Funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after her death, he was the happy Proclaimer, that King *James* (her peaceful Successour) was Heir to the Crown.

Let me beg of my Reader to allow me to say a little, and but a little, more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him
back

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. §1

back to Mr. *Hooker*; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishops Charity and Humility, but this of both : He built a large Almshouse near to his own House at *Croydon* in *Surrey*, and endowed it with Maintenance for a Master and twenty eight poor Men and Women; which he visited so often, that he knew their Names and Dispositions, and was so truly humble, that he called them Brothers and Sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his Palace in *Lambeth*, (which was very often) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor Brothers and Sisters at *Croydon*, and dine with them at his Hospital; at which time, you

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may

may believe, there was Joy at the Table. And at this place he built also a fair Free-school, with a good Accommodation and Maintenance for the Master and Scholars. Which gave just occasion for *Boyse Sisi*, then Embassadour for the French King, and Resident here, at the Bishops death to say, *The Bishop had published many learned Books, but a Free-school to train up Youth, and an Hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor People, were the best Evidences of Christian Learning that a Bishop could leave to Posterity.* This good Bishop lived to see King James settled in peace, and then fell sick at *Lambeth*; of which the King having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his Bed in a declining condition and very weak, and after some short discourse,

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. - 83

discourse, the King assured him,
*He had a great Affection for him, and
high value for his Prudence and Virtues,
and would beg his Life of God.* To
which he replied, *Pro Ecclesiâ Dei,
Pro Ecclesiâ Dei:* which were the
last words he ever spake, therein
testifying, that as in his Life, so
at his Death, his chiefest care was
of Gods Church.

This *John Whitgift* was made
Archbishop in the year 1583. In
which busy place, he continued
twenty years and some moneths;
and in which time you may be-
lieve he had many Tryals of his
Courage and Patience; But his
Motto was, *Vincit, qui patitur.*

And he made it good. Many
of his many Trials were occasion-
ed by the then powerful *Earl of
Leicester*, who did still (but se-
cretly)

cretly) raise and cherish a Faction of Non conformists to oppose him; especially one *Thomas Cartwright*, a man of noted Learning, sometime Contemporary with the Bishop in *Cambridge*, and of the same College, of which the Bishop had been Master; in which place there began some Emulations, (the particulars I forbear) and at last open and high Oppositions betwixt them; and in which you may believe Mr. *Cartwright* was most faulty, if his Expulsion out of the University can incline you to it.

And in this discontent after the Earls death (which was 1588) Mr. *Cartwright* appeared a chief Cherisher of a Party that were for the *Geneva* Church-government; and to effect it, he ran himself into many

many dangers both of Liberty and Life; appearing at the last to justify himself and his Party in many Remonstrances, which he caused to be printed, and to which the Bishop made a first Answer, and *Cartwright* replied upon him; and then the Bishop having rejoined to his Reply, Mr. *Cartwright* either was, or was persuaded to be, satisfied; for he wrote no more, but left the Reader to be judge which had maintained their Cause with most Charity and Reason. After some silence, Mr. *Cartwright* received from the Bishop many personal Favours, and retired himself to a more private Living, which was at *Warwick*, where he lived quietly, and grew rich, and where the Bishop gave him a Licence to Preach,

upon promise not to meddle with Controversies, but incline his Hearers to Piety and Moderation; and this Promise he kept during his Life, which ended 1602, the Bishop surviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect Charity with the other.

And now after this long Digression made for the Information of my Reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. *Hooker*, where we left him in the *Temple*, and where we shall find him as deeply engaged in a Controversie with *Walter Trevers*, a Friend and Favorite of Mr. *Cartwrights*, as the Bishop had ever been with Mr. *Cartwright* himself; and of which I shall proceed to give this following account.

And

And first this; That though the Pens of Mr. *Cartwright* and the Bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new Generation of restless men, that by Company and Clamours became posselt of a Faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not; men that were become positive in asserting *That a Papist cannot be saved*: insomuch that about this time at the Execution of the Queen of Scots, the Bishop that preached her Funeral Sermon (which was Dr. *Dove*, then Bishop of *Peterborough*) was reviled for not being positive for her Damnation. And beside this Boldness of their becoming Gods, so far as to set limits to his Mercies; there was not onely *Martin Mar=prelate*, but other venemous

Books daily printed and dispersed; Books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the graver Divines disdained them an Answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the Common people, till *Tom Nash* appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing Satyrical merry Pen, which he employed to discover the Absurdities of those blind malicious senseless Pamphlets, and Sermons as senseless as they; *Nash* his Answers being like his Books, which bore these Titles, *An Almond for Parrot. A Fig for my God-son. Come crack me this Nut*, and the like: so that his merry Wit made such a discovery of their Absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these

these malicious Pamphlets, than a much wiser man had been able.

And now the Reader is to take notice, That at the Death of *Father Alvie*, who was Master of the *Temple*, this *Walter Trevers* was Lecturer there for the Evening Sermons, which he preacht with great approbation, especially of the younger Gentlemen of that Society; and for the most part approved by Mr. *Hooker* himself, in the midst of their oppositions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time, Mr. *Trevers* being indeed a man of competent Learning, of a winning Behaviour, and of a blamelesse Life. But he had taken Orders by the Presbyterie in *Antwerp*, and if in any thing he was transported, it was in an extreme desire
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to set up that Government in this Nation : For the promoting of which, he had a correspondence with *Theodore Beza* at *Geneva*, and others in *Scotland*; and was one of the chiefest assistants to *Mr. Cartwright* in that Design.

Mr. Trevers had also a particular hope to set up this Government in the *Temple*, and to that end used his endeavours to be Master of it, and his being disappointed by *Mr. Hookers* admittance, proved some occasion of opposition betwixt them, in their Sermons. Many of which were concerning the Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies of this Church : Inſomuch that, as one hath pleasantly expreſt it, *The Forenoon Sermon ſpake Canterbury*, and the *Afternoons, Geneva*.

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In these Sermons there was little of bitterneſſe, but each party brought all the Reasons he was able to prove his Adverſaries Opinion, Erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the Oppositions became ſo viſible, and the Conſequences ſo dangerous, eſpecially in that place, that the prudent Archbiſhop put a ſtop to Mr. Trevers his Preaching, by a poſitive Prohibition: And Mr. Trevers Appeal'd and Petition'd Her Majeſty and Her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many aſſiſting Friends; but they were not able to prevail with or againſt the Archbiſhop, whom the Queen had intruſted with all Church-power; and he had received ſo fair a Teſtimony of Mr. Hookers Principles, and of his Lear-

Learning and Moderation, that he withstood all Sollicitations. But the denying this Petition of Mr. *Trevors* was unpleasant to divers of his Party, and the Reasonableness of it became at last to be so magnified by them and many others, as never to be answered; so that intending the Bishops and Mr. *Hookers* disgrace, they procured it to be privately printed, and scattered abroad: and then Mr. *Hooker* was forced to appear publickly, and print an Answer to it, which he did, and Dedicated it to the Archbishop; and it proved so full an Answer, to have in it so much of clear Reason, and writ with so much Meekness and Majesty of Style, that the Bishop began to wonder at the Man, to rejoyce that he had appeared in
his

his Cause, and disdained not earnestly to beg his Friendship, even a familiar Friendship with a man of so much quiet Learning and Humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. *Hooker* and Mr. *Trevers* dissented, would prove at least tedious; and therefore I shall impose upon my Reader no more than two, which shall immediately follow.

Mr. *Trevers* excepted against Mr. *Hooker*, for that in one of his Sermons he declared, *That the assurance of what we believe by the Word of God, is not to us so certain as that which we perceive by sense.* And Mr. *Hooker* confesseth he said so; and endeavours to justify it by the Reasons following.

‘ First,

‘ First, I taught, That the things
‘ which God promises in his
‘ Word are surer to us than what
‘ we touch, handle, or see; but
‘ are we so sure and certain of
‘ them? if we be, why doth God
‘ so often prove his Promises to
‘ us, as he doth, by Arguments
‘ drawn from our sensible Expe-
‘ rience? For *we must be surer of the*
‘ *Proof than of the things Proved; other-*
‘ *wise it is no Proof.* For Example:
‘ How is it that many men look-
‘ ing on the Moon at the same
‘ time, every one knoweth it to be
‘ the Moon as certainly as the
‘ other doth: but many believing
‘ one and the same Promise, have
‘ not all one and the same Fulness
‘ of Persuasion? For how falleth
‘ it out, that men being assured of
‘ any thing by Sense, can be no
surer

‘ surer of it than they are; whenas
 ‘ the strongest in Faith that liveth
 ‘ upon the Earth, hath always
 ‘ need to labour, strive and pray,
 ‘ that his Assurance concerning
 ‘ Heavenly and Spiritual things
 ‘ may grow, increase, and be aug-
 ‘ mented?

The Sermon that gave him the
 cause of this his Justification
 makes the Case more plain, by de-
 claring *that there is besides this Cer-*
tainty of Evidence, a Certainty of Ad-
herence: in which having most ex-
 cellently demonstrated what the
Certainty of Adherence is, he makes
 this comfortable use of it, ‘ Com-
 ‘ fortable (he says) as to weak
 ‘ Believers, who suppose them-
 ‘ selves to be faithless, not to be-
 ‘ lieve, when notwithstanding
 ‘ they have their *Adherence*; the
 Holy

‘ Holy Spirit hath his *private opera-*
‘ *tions*, and worketh secretly in
‘ them, and effectually too, though
‘ they want the inward Testimony
‘ of it.

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a sad sense of his sin; to one that by a too severe judging of himself, concludes that he wants Faith, because he wants the comfortable Assurance of it; and his Answer will be, *Do not persuade me against my knowledge, against what I find and feel in myself; I do not, I know I do not believe.* (Mr. Hookers own words follow) ‘ Well then, to fa-
‘ vour such men a little in their
‘ weakness, let that be granted
‘ which they do imagine; be it
‘ that they adhere not to Gods
‘ Promises, but are faithless and
without

'without belief ; but are they
 'not grieved for their unbelief ?
 'they confess they are ; do they
 'not wish it might, and also strive
 'that it may be otherways ? we
 'know they do ; whence cometh
 'this but from a secret Love and
 'Liking that they have of those
 'things believed ? For, *no man can*
 '*Love those things which in his own*
 '*opinion are not ;* and, if they think
 'those things to be, which they
 'shew they Love when they de-
 'fire to believe them ; then must
 'it be that by desiring to believe,
 'they prove themselves true be-
 'lievers ; for, *without faith no man*
 '*thinketh that things believed are :*
 'which argument all the Subtil-
 'ties of infernal powers will ne-
 'ver be able to dissolve. This is
 an abridgement of part of the

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reasons

reasons he gives for his Justification of this his Opinion for which he was excepted against by Mr. Trevers.

Mr. Hooker was also accused by Mr. Trevers, for that he in one of his Sermons had declared, that he doubted not but that God was merciful to many of our fore-fathers living in Popish Superstition, for as much as they Sinned ignorantly : and Mr. Hooker in his answer professeth it to be his Judgement, and declares his Reasons for this Charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But first he states the question about *Justification* and *works*, and how the *Foundation of Faith* is *overthrown*; and then he proceeds to discover that way which *Natural men* and some others have mistaken

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ken to be the way by which they hope to attain true happiness ; and having discovered the Mistaken, he proceeds to direct to that True way, by which and no other, everlasting life and blessedness is attainable ; and, these two ways he demonstrates thus : (they be his own words that follow)

*‘ That the way of Nature, This the way
‘ of Grace; the end of that way Salvati-
‘ on merited , presupposing the righte-
‘ ousness of mens works ; their righte-
‘ ousness, a Natural ability to do them ;
‘ that ability, the goodness of God which
‘ Created them in such perfection. But
‘ the end of this way Salvation bestowed
‘ upon men as a gift : presupposing not
‘ their righteousness , but, the forgive-
‘ ness of their Unrighteousness, Justifi-
‘ cation ; their Justification, not their
‘ Natural ability to do good, but their*

' hearty Sorrow for not doing, and un-
 ' feigned belief in him for whose sake
 ' not doers are accepted, which is their
 ' Vocation ; their Vocation, the Election
 ' of God taking them out of the number
 ' of lost Children ; their Election a
 ' Mediator in whom to be elect; this
 ' mediation inexplicable mercy ; this
 ' mercy, supposing their misery for
 ' whom he vouchsafed to dye, and make
 ' himself a Mediator.

And he also declareth, there is
 no meritorious cause for our Justifica-
 tion but Christ, no effectual but his
 Mercy ; and says also, we deny the
 Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we a-
 buse, disanul, and annihilate the benefit
 of his Passion, if by a proud imagina-
 tion we believe we can merit everlast-
 ing life, or can be worthy of it. This
 belief (he declareth) is to destroy
 the very essence of our Justifica-
 tion,

tion, and he makes all opinions
that border upon this to be very
dangerous. Yet nevertheless, (and
for this he was accused) 'Consider-
'ing how many vertuous and just men,
'how many Saints and Martyrs have
'had their dangerous opinions, amongst
'which this was one, that they hoped
'to make God some part of amends by
'voluntary punishments which they
'laid upon themselves ; because by
'this or the like erroneous opini-
'ons which do by consequent
'overthrow the merits of Christ,
'shall man be so bold as to write
'on their Graves such men are dam-
'ned, there is for them no Salvation?
'St. Austin says, *errare possum, Hæ-*
'reticus esse nolo. And except we
'put a difference betwixt them
'that err Ignorantly, and them
'that Obstinately persist in it,

‘ how is it possible that any man
‘ should hope to be saved ? give
‘ me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom
‘ great afflictions have made to
‘ know himself, whose heart
‘ God hath touched with true sor-
‘ row for all his Sins, and filled
‘ with a Love of Christ and His
‘ Gospel, whose eyes are willing-
‘ ly open to see the truth, and his
‘ mouth ready to renounce all er-
‘ ror, this one opinion of merit ex-
‘ cepted, which he thinketh God
‘ will require at his hands, and
‘ because he wanteth, trembleth,
‘ and is discouraged, and yet can
‘ say, *Lord cleanse me from all my secret*
‘ *sins*, shall I think because of this
‘ or a like error such men touch
‘ not so much as the Hem of Christs
‘ Garment ? if they do, wherefore
‘ should I doubt but that vertue
may

' may proceed from Christ to save
' them ? no, I will not be afraid to
' say to such a one, you err in your
' opinion, but be of good comfort, you
' have to do with a merciful God who
' will make the best of that little which
' you hold well, and not with a captious
' Sophister, who gathereth the worst out
' of every thing in which you are mista-
' ken.

But it will be said, *The admit-
tance of Merit in any degree, overthrow-
eth the foundation, excludeth from the
hope of mercy, from all possibility of sal-
vation.* (And now M. Hookers own
words follow.)

' What though they hold the
' truth sincerely in all other parts
' of Christian Faith ? although
' they have in some measure all
' the Vertues and Graces of the
' Spirit ? although they have all

‘ other tokens of Gods Children in
‘ them ? although they be far from
‘ having any proud opinion that
‘ they shall be saved by the wor-
‘ thinesse of their deeds ? although
‘ the onely thing that troubleth
‘ and molesteth them be a little
‘ too much dejection, somewhat
‘ too great a ~~sin~~^{fear} arising from an er-
‘ ronious conceit, that God will
‘ require a worthinesse in them,
‘ which they are grieved to find
‘ wanting in themselves ? although
‘ they be not obstinate in this opi-
‘ nion ? although they be willing,
‘ and would be glad to forsake it,
‘ if any one reason were brought
‘ sufficient to disprove it ? although
‘ the onely cause why they do not
‘ forsake it ere they dye, be their
‘ Ignorance of that means by
‘ which it might be disproved ? al-
‘ though

‘ though the cause why the Ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in such as should be able, and are not, to remove it? *Let me die* (sayes Mr. Hooker) *if it be ever proved, that simply an Error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in such a case utterly from hope of life.* Surely I must confesse, that if it be an Error to think that God may be mercifull to save men even when they err; my greatest comfort is my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live.

I was willing to take notice of these two points, as supposing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove useful to my Reader; as also for that the answers

swers be arguments of Mr. Hookers great and clear reason, and equal Charity. Other exceptions were also made against him, as *that he prayed before and not after his Sermons; that in his Prayers he named Bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received the Sacrament, and (says Mr. Hooker in his defence) other exceptions so like these, as but to name, I should have thought a greater ~~than~~ ^{then} fault, to commit them.*

And'tis not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of ^{Soe} a great controverfie, a sharper reproof than this and one like it did never fall from the happy pen of this Humble man. That like it was upon a like occasion of exceptions, to which his answer was, *Your next argument consists of railing and*

and of reasons; to your Railing I say nothing, to your Reasons I say what follows. And I am glad of this fair occasion, to testifie the Dove-like temper of this meek, this matchlesse man; and doubtlesse if Almighty God had blest the Dissenters from the Ceremonies and Discipline of this Church, with a like measure of Wisdome and Humility, instead of their pertinacious zeale, then Obedience & Truth had kissed each other; then Peace and Piety had flourished in our Nation, and this Church and State had been blest like *Jerusalem* that is at unity with it self; which can never be expected, till God shall blesse the common people with a belief, *That there may be offences taken which are not given, and That Lawes are not made for private*

vate men to Dispute, but to Obey.

And this also may be worthy of noting, That these Exceptions of Mr. Trevers against Mr. Hooker, were the cause of his transcribing severall of his Sermons, which we now see printed with his Books; of his Answer to Mr. Trevers, his Supplication, and of his most learned and useful discourse of *Justification of Faith and Works*; and by their Transcription they fell into the hands of others, and have been thereby preserved from being lost, as too many of his other matchless wrirings were, and from these I have gathered ^{many} ~~my~~ observations in this Discourse of his Life.

After the publication of his answer to the Petition of Mr. Trevers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater

repute with the most learned and wise of the Nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. *Trevers* and for his Church Discipline; insomuch that though Mr. *Trevers* left the place, yet the seeds of Discontent could not be rooted out of that Society, by the great Reason, and as great Meekness of this humble man: for though the chief Benchers gave him much Reverence and Incouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppositions by those of Mr. *Trevers* Judgement; insomuch that it turned to his extreme grief and that he might unbeguile and win them, he designed to write a deliberate sober Treatise of the Churches power to make Canons
for

for the use of Ceremonies, and by Law to impose an obedience to them, as upon her Children; and this he proposed to do in eight Books of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*; intending therein to shew such Arguments as should force an assent from all men, if Reason, delivered in sweet Language, and voyd of any provocation, were able to doe it; And that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote a large Preface or Epistle to the Dissenting Brethren, wherein there were such Bowels of *Love*, and such a Com-mixture of that *Love* with *Reason*, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ, and particularly by that of *St. Paul* to his dear Brother and fellow Labourer *Philemon*, than which none ever was more like
this

this Epistle of Mr. *Hookers* ; so that his dear friend and companion in his Studies might after his death justly say, *What admirable height of Learning and depth of Judgment dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man, great in all wise mens eyes except his own ; with what gravity and Majesty of speech his Tongue and Pen uttered Heavenly Mysteries ; whose eyes in the Humility of his Heart were always cast down to the ground ; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the Spirit of Love, as if he, like the Bird of the Holy Ghost, the Dove, had wanted gall, let those that knew him not in his Person, judge by these living Images of his soul, his Writings.*

Doctor
Spencer
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The foundation of these Books were laid in the Temple ; but he found it no fit place to finish what he

he had there designed ; and therefore solicited the Arch Bishop for a remove, saying, *When I lost the freedom of my Cell, which was my College, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet Country Parsonage : but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place ; And indeed God and Nature did not intend me for Contentions, but for Study and quietness: I have begun a work in which I intend the Justification of our Laws of Church-Government, and I shall never be able to finish it, but where I may Study, and pray for Gods blessing upon my indeavours, and keep myself in Peace and Privacy, and behold Gods blessing spring out of my Mother Earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions ; and therefore if your Grace can Judge me worthy such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun.*

About

About this time the Parsonage or Rectory of *Boscum*, in the Diocess of *Sarum*, and six miles from that City, became void. The Bishop of *Sarum* is Patron of it, but in the vacancy of that Sea (which was three years betwixt the death of Bishop *Peirce* and Bishop *Caldwells* admission into it) the disposal of that and all Benefices belonging to that Sea, during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and he presented *Richard Hooker* to it in the year 1591. And *Richard Hooker* was also in this said year Instituted, *July 17.* to be a minor Prebend of *Salisbury*, the Corps to it being *nether-Havin*, about ten miles from that City, which Prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him ca-

I pable

pable of a better preferment in that Church. In this *Boscum* he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were enter'd into the register Book in Stationers Hall the 9. of *March* 1592. but not publisht till the year 1594. and then with the beforementioned large and affectionate Preface *to them that seek (as they term it) the Reformation of the laws and orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England;* of which Books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter) but at *Boscum* he finisht and publisht but only the first four.

He left *Boscum* in the year 1595.
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by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop *Caldwell*, and he presented *Benjamin Russel*, who was Instituted into it 23. of *June* in the same year.

The Parsonage of *Bishops Borne* in *Kent*, three miles from *Canterbury*, is in that Archbishops gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594. Doctor *William Redman* the Rector of it was made *Bishop of Norwich*, by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented *Richard Hooker*, whom she loved well, to this good living of *Borne* the 7. of *July* 1595. in which Living he continued till his Death, without any addition of Dignity or Profit.

And now having brought our *Richard Hooker* from his Birth-

Place, to this where he found a Grave, I shall only give some account of his Books, and of his behaviour in this Parsonage of *Borne*, and then give a rest both to my self and my Reader.

His first four Books and large Epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at *Boscum*, Anno 1594. Next I am to tell that at the end of these four Books there is printed this Advertilement to the Reader. ‘I have for
‘some causes thought it at this
‘time more fit to let go these first
‘four Books by themselves, than
‘to stay both them and the rest,
‘till the whole might together be
‘published. Such generalities
‘of the cause in question as are
‘here handled, it will be perhaps
‘not amiss to consider apart, by
‘way

‘ way of Introduction unto the
‘ Books that are to follow con-
‘ cerning particulars, in the mean
‘ time the Reader is requested to
‘ mend the Printers errors, as no-
‘ ted underneath.

And I am next to declare that his fifth Book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by itself *Anno* 1597. and dedicated to his Patron the Archbishop. These Books were read with an admiration of their excellency in This, and their just fame spread it self into forain Nations. And I have been told more than forty years past, that Cardinal *Alen*, or learned Doctor *Stapleton* (both English men, and in *Italy* when Mr. *Hookers* four Books were first printed) meeting with this general fame of them, were

desirous to read an Author that both the Reformed and the Learned of their own Church did so much magnifie, and therefore caused them to be sent for; and, after reading them, boasted to the Pope (which then was Clement the eighth) *that though he had lately said he never met with an English Book whose Writer deserved the name of an Author; yet there now appear'd a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin, for a poor obscure English Priest had writ four such Books of Laws, and Church Polity, and in a Style that exprest so Grave and such Humble Majesty with clear demonstration of Reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him; and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Do-*
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ctor Stapleton should bring the said four Books, and looking on the English read a part of them to him in Latin, which Doctor Stapleton did, to the end of the first Book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose; *there is no Learning that this man hath not searcht into, nothing too hard for his understanding: This man indeed deserves the name of an Author; his books will get reverence by Age, for there is in them such seeds of Eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last Fire shall consume all Learning.*

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his Books; for at the first coming of King James into this Kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop Whitegift for his friend Mr. Hooker

that writ the Books of Church Polity ; to which the answer was, that he dyed a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the sad news of his Death with very much Sorow ; to which the King replied, and I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happinesse of seeing and discoursing with that man from whose Books I have received such satisfaction : Indeed my Lord I have received more satisfaction in reading a Leaf, or Paragraph in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of Churches, or Church Musick, or the like, but especially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large Treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very Learned men ; and, I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected Language, but a comprehensive, cleer
mani-

manifestation of Reason, and that back't with the Authority of the Scripture, the Fathers and Schoolmen, and with all Law both Sacred and Civil. And, though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of Mr. Hookers Book the picture of a Divine Soul, such Pictures of Truth and Reason, and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the Author. And it is so truly true, that he thought what he spake, that as the most Learned of the Nation have and still do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence, so he also did never mention him but with the Epithite of Learned, or Judicious, or Reverend, or Venerable Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his Son our late King
Charles

Charles the first, ever mention him but with the same reverence, enjoining his Son our now gracious King, to be studious in *Mr. Hookers* Books. And our learned Antiquary *Mr. Cambden* * mentioning the Death, the modesty, and other vertues of *Mr. Hooker*, and magnifying his Books, wisht, *that for the honour of this, and benefit of other Nations, they were turn'd into the Universal Language.* Which work though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary and forsaken it; but the Reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finisht, by the happy pen of Doctor *Earl*, now Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth

* *In his Annals 1599.*

as ought not to be conceal'd from Posterity, or those that now live and yet know him not) that since Mr. *Hooker* died, none have liv'd whom God hath blest with more innocent Wisdom; more sanctified Learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive Temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself & our venerable *R. Hooker*; & only fit to make the learned of all Nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confin'd to the language of our little Island.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his Books, which none ever did or can commend too much, but I decline them; and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and Death at *Borne*; in which place

place he continued his customary rules of Mortification and Self-denial; was much in Fasting, frequent in Meditation and Prayers, injoying those blessed Returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know, and to which men of loose and Godless lives are Strangers.

At his entrance into this place, his Friendship was much sought for by Doctor *Hadrian Saravia*, then one of the Prebends of *Canterbury*, a German by birth, and sometimes a Pastor both in *Flanders* and *Holland*, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacrilege, and in *England* had a just occasion to declare his Judgement concerning both, unto his Brethren Ministers of the Low Countrys, which was excep-

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cepted against by *Theodor Beza* and others ; against whose exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy Author of many Learned Tracts, writ in Latin, especially of three ; one of the *Degrees of Ministers*, and of the *Bishops Superiority above the Presbytery* ; a second against *Sacrilege* ; and a third of *Christian Obedience to Princes* ; the last being occasioned by *Gretzerus* the Jesuit. And it is observable, that when *Beza* gave his reasons to the Chancellor of Scotland for the abrogation of Episcopacy in that Nation, partly by Letters, and more fully in a Treatise of a three-fold Episcopacy (which he calls *Divine, Humane, and Satanical*) this Doctor *Saravia* had by the help of Bishop *Whitgift* made such an early discovery of their intentions,

ons, that he had almost as soon answered that Treatise as it became Publique ; and therein discovered how *Beza's* opinion did contradict that of *Calvins*, and their adherents, leaving them to interfere with themselves in point of *Episcopacy* ; but of these Tracts it will not concern me to say more, than that they were most of them dedicated to his and the Church of *Englands* watchful Patron *John Whitgift* the Archbishop, and printed about the year in which *Mr. Hooker* also appeared first to the world in the Publication of his first four Books of Ecclesiastical Polity.

This Friendship being sought for by this Learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by *M. Hooker*, who was by fortune so like him

him as to be ingaged againſt Mr. *Trevers*, Mr. *Cartwright* and others in a controverſie too like Doctor *Saravia's*; So that in this year of 1595. and in this place of *Borne*, theſe two excellent perſons began a Holy Friendſhip, increaſing dayly to ſo high and mutual affections, that their two wills ſeemed to be but one, ſtill aſſiſting and improving each others vertues, and the deſired comforts of a peaceable Piety, which I have willingly mentioned, becauſe it gives a foundation to ſome things that follow.

This Parſonage of *Borne* is from *Canterbury* three miles, and near to the common Road that leads from that City to *Dover*, in which Parſonage Mr. *Hooker* had not been twelve moneths, but his
Books

Books, and the Innocency and Sanctity of his Life became so remarkable, that many turn'd out of the road, and others (Scholars especially) went purposely to see the man whose Life & Learning were so much admired; and alas, as our Saviour said of St. John Baptist, *what went they out to see, a man Clothed in Purple and fine Linen?* no indeed, but an obscure harmless man, a man in poor Clothes, his Loynes usually girt in a coarse Gown or Canonical Coat, of a mean Stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his Soul; his body worn out, not with Age, but Study and Holy Mortifications; his face full of Heat-Pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true Character of his Person, let me add this of his Disposition and behaviour,

our, that as in his younger days his Pupils might easily look him out of countenance ; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face : and was of so mild and humble a Nature, that his poor Parish Clark and he did never talk but with both their Hats on, or both off at the same time ; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was short or weak sighted, and where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his Sermon, there they continued till it was ended ; and the Reader has a Liberty to believe that his Modesty and Dim sight were the reasons why he trusted Ministers Churchman to choose his Wife.

This Parish Clark lived till the third or fourth year of the long

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Parliament, betwixt which time and Mr. *Hookers* Death there had come many to see the place of his Burial, and the Monument dedicated to his memory by Sir *William Cooper* (who still lives) and the poor Clark had many rewards for shewing Mr. *Hookers* Grave-place, and his said Monument, and did always hear Mr. *Hooker* mentioned with Commendations and Reverence, to all which he added his own knowledge and observations of his Humility and Holiness, and in all which Discourses, the poor man was still more confirm'd in his opinion of Mr. *Hookers* Vertues and Learning; but it so fell out that about the said third or fourth year of the long Parliament, the present Parson of *Borne* was Sequestered (you may

may guess why) and a *Genevian* Minister put into his good living; this and other like Sequestrations made the Clark express himself in a wonder, and say, *they had sequestered so many good men that he doubted if his good Master Mr. Hooker had lived till now they would have Sequestred him too.*

It was not long before this intruding Minister had made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the Sacrament as in *Geneva*; to which end, the day was appointed for a Select Company, and Forms and Stools set about the Altar or Communion Table for them to sit and eat and drink, but when they went about this work there was a want of some Joynd-stools, which the Minister sent the Clark

to fetch, and then to fetch Cushions ; when the Clark saw them begin to sit down, he began to wonder, but the Minister bad him cease wondering, and lock the Church door ; to whom he replied, pray take you the Keys and lock me out, I will never come more into this Church, for all men will say my Master Hooker was a good Man and a good Scholar, and I am sure it was not used to be thus in his days ; and report says, the old man went presently home, and died ; I do not not say died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful Clark in his quiet Grave, and return to Mr. *Hooker* himself, continuing our observations of his Christian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy Valediction
to

to all the pleasures and alurements of Earth, possessing his Soul in a vertuous quietness, which he maintained by constant Study, Prayers, and Meditations; his use was to Preach once every Sunday, and he or his Curate to Catechise after the second Lesson in the Evening Prayer; his Sermons were neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a Grave zeal, and an humble voyce; his eyes always fixt on one place to prevent his Imagination from wandring, in so much, that he seem'd to Study as he spake; the design of his Sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew Reasons for what he spake; and with these Reasons such a kind of Rhetorick as did rather convince and perswade, than frighten men

into Piety; Studying not so much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt Illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar Examples, and then make them better by Convincing Applications; never laboring by hard words, and then by needless Distinctions and sub-distinctions to *amuse* his hearers, and get glory to himself: But glory only to God. Which intention he would say was as discernable in a Preacher *as an Artificial from a Natural Beauty.*

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember week to give notice of it to his Parishioners, persuading them both to fast, & then to double their Devotions for a Learned & Pious Clergy, but especially the last; saying often, *that the*
Life

Life of a pious Clergy man was visible Rhetorick, and so Convincing, that the most Godliefs men (though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives: And to what he perswaded others he added his own example of Fasting and Prayer; and did usually every Ember week take from the Parish Clark the Key of the Church dore; into which place he retir'd every day and lockt himself up for many houres; and did the like most Frydays and other days of Fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of Procession, perswading all both Rich and Poor, if they desired the preservation of Love, and their Parish Rights and Liberties, to accom-

pany him in his Perambulation, & most did so ; in which Perambulation he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving and ~~efficacious~~^{fecetious} observations to be remembered against the next year; especially by the boys and young people; still inclining them and all his present Parishioners to mutual kindnesse and Love; because *Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of Infirmities.*

He would often visit the Sick, unsent for ; supposing that the fittest time to discover those errors to which health and prosperity had blinded them ; and having by pious Reasons and Prayers, moulded them into holy Resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to Confession

fession, and bewailing their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a strengthening of those holy Resolutions, & as a seal betwixt God and them of his Mercies to their Souls in case that present sickness did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful & charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent Law-sutes, still urging his Parishioners & Neighbours, to bear with each others infirmities, and live in love, because (as S. John says) *he that lives in Love, lives in God, for God is Love.* And to maintain this holy fire of Love constantly burning on the Altar, of a pure heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and alwayes keep themselves fit to receive the Communion; & then to receive it
often

often, for it was both a Confirming and a Strengthening of their Graces; this was his advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any House, he would usually speak to the whole Family and bless them; insomuch that as he seem'd in his youth to be taught of God, so he seem'd in this place to teach his Precepts, as *Enoch* did by walking with him, in all Holiness and Humility, making each day a step towards a blessed Eternity. And though in this weak and declining Age of the World, such examples are become barren and almost incredible, yet let his Memory be blest with this true Recordation, because he that praises *Richard Hooker*, praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and
affecti-

affectionate relation of him become such a pattern as may invite posterity to imitate his virtues.

This was his constant behaviour at *Borne*; thus did he tread in the footsteps of Primitive Piety; and yet, as our blessed *Jesus* was not free from false accusations, no more was this Disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent holy man; his was a slander parallel to that of chaste *Susannaes* by the wicked Elders, and which this age calls *Trepaning*; the particulars need not a repetition, and that it was false, needs no other Testimony than the publick punishment of his Accusers, and their open Confession of his Innocency; 'twas said that the accusation was contrived by a dissent.

senting Brother, one that indur'd not Church Ceremonies, hating him for his Books sake, which he was not able to answer; and his Name hath been told me, but I have not so much confidence in the relation as to make my Pen fix a scandal on him to posterity; I shall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of Revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the Anxieties of this Accusation, and kept it secret to himself for many moneths; and being a helpless man had layn longer under this heavy burthen but that the Protector of the innocent gave such an accidental occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dear Friends *Edwin Sandys*, and *George Cranmer*, who were so sensible

fible of their Tutors sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest till by their disquisitions and diligence they had found out the Fraud, & brought him the welcom news that his Accusers did confess they had wrong'd him, and begg'd his pardon; to which the good mans reply was to this purpose; *the Lord forgive them, and the Lord bless you for this comfortable news.* Now I have a just occasion to say with Solomon, *Friends are born for the days of adversity,* and such you have prov'd to me; and to my God I say, as did the mother of St. John Baptist, *thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men:* 'And oh my God, neither
'my Life nor my Reputation are
'safe in mine own keeping, but
in

‘ in thine, who didst take care of
‘ me, when I yet hanged upon my
‘ Mothers brest ; blessed are they
‘ that put their trust in thee O
‘ Lord ; for when false witnessses
‘ were risen up against me, when
‘ shame was ready to cover my
‘ face, when I was bowed down
‘ with an horrible Dread , and
‘ went mourning all the day long,
‘ when my nights were restless,
‘ and my Sleeps broken with a
‘ fear worse than Death, when my
‘ Soul thirsted for a deliverance, as
‘ the Heart panteth after the rivers
‘ of waters, then thou Lord didst
‘ hear my Complaints, pittie my
‘ condition, and become my de-
‘ liverer ; and as long as I live I
‘ will hold up my hands in this
‘ manner, and magnifie thy mer-
‘ cies, who didst not give me over
‘ as

‘asa prey to mine enemies. Oh
‘blessed are they that put their
‘trust in thee; and no prosperity
‘shall make me forget to perform
‘those vows that I have made to
‘thee in the days of my affliction;
‘for with such sacrifices thou O
‘God art well pleased; and I will
pay them.

Thus did the Joy and Gratitude of this Good mans heart break forth; and ’tis observable, that as the invitation to this Slander was his Meek behaviour and Dove-like simplicity, for which he was remarkable; so his Christian Charity ought to be imitated: For, though the Spirit of Revenge is so pleasing to Mankind, that it is never conquered but by a Supernatural Grace, being indeed so deeply rooted in
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Humane Nature, that to prevent the Excesses of it (for men would not know Moderation) Almighty God allows not any Degree of it to any man, but says, *Vengeance is mine.* And, though this be said by God himself, yet this Revenge is so pleasing, that Man is hardly persuaded to submit the menage of it to the Time, and Justice, and Wisdom of his Creator, but would hasten to be his own Executioner of it. And yet nevertheless, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleasing Passion to the Time and Measure of God alone, it was this *Richard Hooker* of whom I write; for when his Slanderers were to suffer, he laboured to procure their Pardon; and when that was denied him, his Reply was, *That however he*
would

would fast and pray that God would give them repentance, and patience to undergo their punishment. And his Prayers were so far returned into his own bosom, that the first was granted, if we may believe a penitent Behaviour, and an open Confession. And 'tis observable, that after this time he would often say to Dr. Saravia, *Oh with what quietness did I enjoy my Soul after I was free from the fears of my Slander! and how much more after a Conflict and Victory over my Desires of Revenge!*

In the Year 1600, and of his Age 46, he fell into a long and sharp Sickness, occasioned by a Cold taken in his Passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from the Malignity of which he was never recovered, for till his death he was not free from thoughtful

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Days and restless Nights; but a submission to his Will that makes the Sick mans Bed easie by giving rest to his Soul, made his very Languishment comfortable: and yet all this time he was solicitous in his Study, and said often to Dr. Saravia, (who saw him daily, and was the chief Comfort of his Life) *That he did not beg a Long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining Books of P O L I T Y; and then, Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, which was his usual Expression. And God heard his Prayers, though he denied the Church the Benefit of them as completed by himself; and 'tis thought he hastened his own Death, by hastening to give Life to his Books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to*
his

his Death, the more he grew in *Humility*, in *holy Thoughts* and *Resolutions*.

About a moneth before his death, this Good man, that never knew, or at least never consider'd, the pleasures of the Palate, became first to lose his Appetite, then to have an averfness to all Food; in-
somuch that he seem'd to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of Meat onely; and yet still studied and writ. And now his Guardian Angel seem'd to foretell him, that the day of his Diffolution drew near; for which his vigorous Soul appear'd to thirst. In this time of his Sickness, and not many days before his Death, his House was robb'd; of which he having notice, his Question was, *Are my Books and written Papers*

safe? and being answered *that they were*; his Reply was, *then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me.*

About one day before his death Dr. Saravia, who knew the very Secrets of his Soul, (for they were supposed to be Confessors to each other) came to him, and after a Conference of the Benefit, the Necessity, and Safety of the Churches Absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a short Retirement and Privacy they return'd to the Company, and then the Doctor gave him and some Friends with him the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of our Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he
saw

saw a reverend Gaity and Joy in his Face; but it lasted not long, for his bodily Infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch that the Doctor apprehended Death ready to seize him; yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following, which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in Contemplation, and not inclinable to Discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to require his present Thoughts: to which he replied, *that he was meditating the Number and Nature of Angels, and their blessed Obedience and Order, without which Peace could not be in Heaven; and oh that it might be so on Earth.* After which words he said, 'I have lived to see this

L 3 World

‘ World is made up of Perturba-
‘ tions, and I have been long pre-
‘ paring to leave it, and gathering
‘ Comfort for the dreadful hour
‘ of making my Account with
‘ God, which I now apprehend to
‘ be near ; and though I have by
‘ his Grace lov’d him in my
‘ Youth, and fear’d him in mine
‘ Age, and labour’d to have a
‘ Conscience void of offence to
‘ him and to all men ; yet, if thou,
‘ O Lord, be extreme to mark
‘ what I have done amiss, who
‘ can abide it ? and therefore, *where*
‘ *I have failed, Lord shew mercy to me ;*
‘ *and since I owe thee a Death, Lord let*
‘ *it not be terrible, and then take thine*
‘ *own time, I submit to it : Let not*
‘ *mine, O Lord, but let thy Will be done ;*
‘ with which Expression he fell
‘ into a dangerous Slumber, dan-
gerous

‘gerous as to his Recovery; yet
‘recover he did, but it was to
‘speak onely these few words,
‘*Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily*
‘*Petitions, for I am at peace with all*
‘*men, and he is at peace with me;*
‘*and from that blessed assurance I feel*
‘*that inward joy, which this World can*
‘*neither give nor take from me.* More
‘he would have spoken, but his
‘Spirits failed him; and, after a
‘short Conflict betwixt Nature
‘and Death, a quiet Sigh put a
‘period to his last breath, and so
‘he fell asleep.

And here I draw his Curtain,
till with the most blessed *Martyrs*
and *Confessours*, this most Lear-
ned, most Humble, Holy Man,
shall also awake to receive an
Eternal Tranquillity, and with

it a greater Degree of Glory than
common Christians shall be made
Partakers of; till which blessed
time,

*Let Glory be to God on high, let
Peace be upon Earth, and Good-
will to Mankind.*

Amen, Amen.

This

This following Epitaph was long since presented to the world in memory of Mr. *Hooker*, by Sir *William Cooper*, who also built him a fair Monument in *Borne Church*, and acknowledges him to have been his Spiritual Father.

Though nothing can be spoke worthy
his Fame,
Or the Remembrance of that precious
Name,
Judicious *Hooker* ; though this cost
be spent
On him, that hath a Lasting Monu-
ment
In his own Books, yet ought we to ex-
press,
If not his Worth, yet our Respectful-
ness.

Church

*Church Ceremonies be maintain'd ; then
why*

Without all Ceremony should he dye ?

*Was it because his Life and Death
should be*

Both equal paterms of Humility ;

*Or that perhaps this only glorious
one*

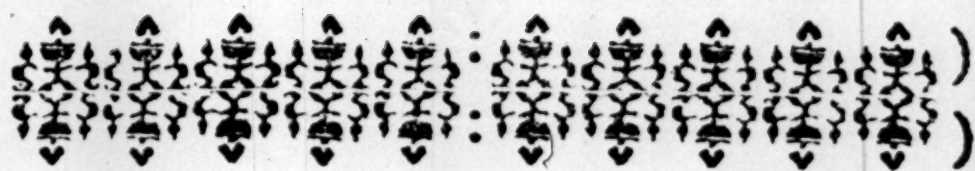
*Was above all to ask, why had he
none ?*

*Yet he that lay so long Obscurely low,
Doth now preferr'd to greater Honors
go.*

*Ambitious men, learn hence to be more
wise,*

Humility is the true way to rise :

*And God in me this lesson did Inspire,
To bid this Humble man, Friend sit up
higher.*



AN APPENDIX

To the LIFE of

Mr. Richard Hooker.



And now having by a long and Laborious search satisfied my self, and I hope my Reader by imparting to him the true relation of *Mr. Hookers* Life: I am desirous also to acquaint him with some Observations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be spoken till after his Death, of which my Reader may expect a brief and true

ac-

156 *An Appendix to the Life of*
account in the following Appen-
dix.

And first it is not to be doubt-
ed but that he died in the forty-
seventh, if not in the forty-sixt
year of his Age; which I menti-
on, because many have believed
him to be more aged; but I have
so examined it, as to be confident
I mistake not; and for the year
of his death, Mr. *Cambden*, who in
his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*
1599. mentions him with a high
commendation of his Life and
Learning, declares him to die in
the year 1599. and yet in that In-
scription of his Monument set
up at the charge of Sir *William Coop-
er* in *Borne Church*, where Mr.
Hooker was buried, his Death is
said to be in *Anno 1603.* but doubt-
less both mistaken; for I have it
at-

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 157

attested under the hand of *William Somner* the Archbishops Register for the Province of *Canterbury*, that *Richard Hookers* Will bears date *October* the 26. in *Anno* 1600. and that it was prov'd the third of *December* following. And that at his Death he left four Daughters, *Alice, Cicily, Jane* and *Margaret*, that he gave to each of them a hundred pound, that he left *Jone* his Wife his sole Executrix, and that by his Inventory his Estate (a great part of it being in Books) came to 109*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himself worth, and which was not got by his Care, much less by the good Huswifery of his Wife, but saved by his trusty servant *Thomas Lane*, that was wiser than his Master in getting Mony for him, and
more

158 *An Appendix to the Life of*
more frugal than his Mistress in
keeping it; of which Will I shall
say no more, but that his dear
Friend *Thomas*, the father of *George*
Cranmer, of whom I have spoken
and shall have occasion to say
more, was one of the Witnesses to
it.

One of his elder Daughters
was married to one *Chalinor*, some-
time a School-master in *Chichester*,
and both dead long since. *Margaret*
his youngest Daughter was
married unto *Ezekiel Chark*, Bache-
lar in Divinity, and Rector of St.
Nicholas in *Harble down* near *Canter-*
bury, who died about 16. years
past, and had a Son *Ezekiel*, now
living, & in Sacred Orders, being at
this time Rector of *Waldron* in
Sussex; She left also a Daughter,
with both whom I have spoken not
many

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 159

many moneths past, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding; and these two attested unto me, that *Richard Hooker* their Grandfather had a Sister, by name *Elizabeth Harvey*, that liv'd to the Age of 121. years, and died in the moneth of *September*, 1623.

For his other two Daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were Marriageable; and for his Wife, she was so unlike *Jephthas* Daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her Widow-hood; nor liv'd long enough to repent her second Marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. *Hookers* and her death. But she is dead,
and

and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his Age, the year of his Death, his Estate, his Wife, and his Children. I am next to speak of his Books, concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither doe right to my self or my Reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight Books, and that his first four were Printed *Anno* 1594. and his fifth Book first printed and alone *Anno* 1597. and that he liv'd to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight, but whether we have the last three as finisht by himself, is a just and Material Question ; concerning which I do declare, that I have
been

been told almost 40. years past by one that very well knew Mr. *Hooker* and the affairs of his Family, that about a moneth after the death of Mr. *Hooker*, Bishop *Whitgift*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent one of his Chaplains to enquire of Mrs. *Hooker*, for the three remaining Books of Polity, writ by her Husband, of which she would not, or could not give any account; and that about three moneths after the Bishop procured her to be sent for to *London*, and then by his procurement she was to be examined, by some of her Majesties Council, concerning the disposal of those Books, but by way of preparation for the next days examination the Bishop invited her to *Lambeth*, and, after some friendly questions, she confessed

M

ferred

162 *An Appendix to the Life of*
fessed to him, that one Mr. Charke and
another Minister that dwelt near Can-
terbury, came to her, and desired that
they might go into her Husbands Stu-
dy, and look upon some of his writings;
and that there they two burnt and tore
many of them, assuring her that they
were writings not fit to be seen, and that
she knew nothing more concerning them.
Her lodging was then in King-
street in Westminster, where she was
found next morning dead in her
Bed, and her new Husband suspe-
cted and questioned for it, but de-
clared innocent of her Death.

And I declare also, that Doctor
John Spencer (mentioned in the life
of Mr. Hooker) who was of Mr.
Hookers College, and of his time
there, and betwixt whom there
was so friendly a friendship that
they continually advised together
in

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER. 163

in all their Studies, and particularly in what concern'd these Books of Polity : this Doctor *Spencer*, the three perfect Books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop *Whitgift*) the imperfect Books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. *Hookers* handwriting, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair Testimony of this may appear by an Epistle first and usually printed before Mr. *Hookers* five Books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight Printed together in *Anno* 1662. in which the Publishers seem to impose the three doubtful as the undoubted Books of Mr. *Hooker*) with these two Letters J. S. at the

‘membred into pieces ; no fa-
‘vour, no grace, not the shadow
‘of themselves remaining in
‘them ; had the Father lived to
‘behold them thus defaced, he
‘might rightly have named them
‘*Benonies*, the Sons of Sorrow ; but
‘being the learned will not suffer
‘them to die and be buried, it is
‘intended the world shall see
‘them as they are : the learned
‘will find in them some shadows
‘and resemblances of their Fathers
‘face. God grant, that as they
‘were with their Brethren dedi-
‘cated to the Church for messen-
‘gers of Peace ; so, in the strength
‘of that little breath of Life that
‘remaineth in them, they may
‘prosper in their work, and by
‘satisfying the Doubts of such as
‘are willing to learn, they may

166 *An Appendix to the Life of*
‘help to give an end to the ca-
‘lamities of these our Civil
‘Wars.

J. S.

And next the Reader may note,
that this Epistle of Doctor *Spencers*
was writ and first Printed
within four years after the death
of Mr. *Hooker*, in which time all
diligent search had been made for
the perfect Copies, and then
granted not recoverable, and there-
fore indeavoured to be compleat-
ed out of Mr. *Hookers* rough
draughts, as is exprest by the said
Doctor *Spencer*, since whose
death it is now 50. years.

And I do profess by the Faith
of a Christian, that Doctor *Spen-*
cers wife (who was my Aunt and
Sister to George *Cranmer* of whom

I

I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, *that her Husband had made up or finisht Mr. Hookers last three Books ; and that upon her Husbands Death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot,* ^{Or to Do^r King Bp. of Lond.} *and that she did as he injoynd her.* ^

I do conceive, that from Doctor Spencers and no other Copy, there have been divers Transcripts, and were to be found in several places, as namely Sir Thomas Bodlies Library, in that of Doctor Andrews late Bishop of Winton, in the late Lord Conways, in the Archbishop of Canterburies, and in the Bishop of Armaghs, and in many others, and

168 *An Appendix to the Life of*
most of these pretended to be the
Authors own hand, but much dis-
agreeing, being indeed altered and
diminisht as men have thought
fittest to make Mr. *Hookers* Judg-
ment suit with their Fancies, or
give authority to their corrupt de-
signs; and for proof of a part of
this, take these following testimo-
nies.

Doctor *Barnard*, sometime
Chaplain to Doctor *Usher* late
Lord Archbishop of *Armagh*, hath
declar'd in a late Book called *Clavi*
Trebales, Printed by *Richard*
Hodgkinson Anno 1661. that in his
search and examination of the
said Bishops Manuscripts, he
found the three written Books
which were supposed the 6. 7. and
8. of Mr. *Hookers* Books of Eccle-
siastical Polity, and that in the
said

said three Books (now printed as Mr. *Hookers*) there are so many omissions that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies; the Omissions are by him set down at large in the said Printed Book, to which I refer the Reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of them.

First, as there could be in Natural Bodies no Motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things and continued Unmoveable, even so in Politick Societies, there must be some unpunishable, or else no man shall suffer punishment; for sith punishments proceed always from Superiors to whom the administration of Justice belongeth, which administration must have
ne.

An Appendix to the Life of
necessarily a Fountain that deriveth it to
all others, and receiveth not from any,
because otherwise the course of Justice
should go infinitely in a Circle, every
Superiour having his Superiour without
end, which cannot be; therefore, a well-
spring, it followeth, there is, a Supreme
head of Justice whereunto all are sub-
ject, but it self in subjection to none.
Which kind of Preheminency if some
ought to have in a Kingdom, who but
the King shall have it? Kings there-
fore, ~~or~~^{or} no man can have lawful power
to Judge.

If Private men offend, there is the
Magistrate over them which Judgeth;
if Magistrates, they have their Prince;
if Princes, there is Heaven, a Tribu-
nal, before which they shall appear:
on Earth they are not accomptable to
any. Here says the Doctor it breaks
off abruptly.

And

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. *Fabian Phillips* a man of note for his useful Books. *I will make Oath if I shall be required, that Doctor Sander-son the late Bishop of Lincoln did a little before his Death affirm to me he had seen a Manuscript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or Supreme Governors being accomptable to the People ; this I will make Oath that that good man attested to me.*

Fabian Phillips.

So that there appears to be both Omissions and Additions in the said last three printed Books ; and this may probably be one Reason why Doctor *Sanderson*, the said Learned Bishop (whose writings are so highly and justly valued)

gave

gave a strickt charge near the time of his Death, or in his last Will, *that nothing of his that was not already Printed should be Printed after his Death.*

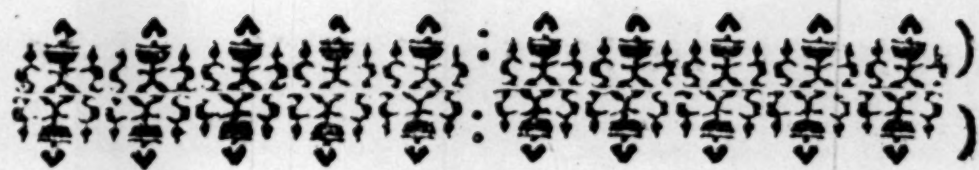
It is well known how high a value our Learned King *James* put upon the Books writ by Mr. *Hooker*, as also that our late King *Charls* (the Martyr for the Church) valued them the second of all Books, testified by his commending them to the reading of his Son *Charls* that now is our gracious King ; and you may suppose that this *Charls* the First was not a stranger to the pretended three Books, because in a discourse with the Lord *Say*, when the said Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, because it was the Judgement of Mr. *Hooker* (quoting

ting him in one of the three written Books,) the King replied, *they were not allowed to be Mr. Hookers Books; but, however he would allow them to be Mr. Hookers, and consent to what his Lordship proposed to prove out of those doubtful Books, if he would but consent to the Judgement of Mr. Hooker in the other five that were the undoubted Books of Mr. Hooker.*

In this relation concerning these three doubtful Books of Mr. Hookers, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observ'd and know, which I have done, not as an ingaged Person, but indifferently, and now leave my Reader to give Sentence, for their Legitimation, as to himself, but so, as to leave others the same Liberty of believing, or disbelieving

174 *An Appendix to the Life of*
believing them to be Mr. *Hookers* ;
and tis observable, that as Mr.
Hooker advis'd with Doctor *Spencer*,
in the design and manage of
these Books, so also, and chiefly
with his dear Pupils George *Cran-*
mer (whose Sister was the wife of
Doctor *Spencer*) of which this fol-
lowing Letter may be a Testimo-
ny, and doth also give authority
to some things mentioned both
in this Appendix and in the Life
of Mr. *Hooker*, and is therefore
added.

George



GEORGE CRANMERS

Letter unto

Mr. Richard Hooker.

February 1598.



That Posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning Church Discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better Experience hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembered, that at first the greatest part of the Learned in the Land were either

176 *George Cranmers Letter unto*
either eagerly affected, or favour-
ably inclined that way. The
Books then written for the most
part favoured of the Disciplina-
ry Stile : it sounded every where
in Pulpits, and in common phrase
of mens speech : the contrary
part began to fear they had taken
a wrong course ; many which im-
pugned the Discipline, yet so
impugned it, not as not being
the better form of Government,
but as not being so convenient for
our State, in regard of dangerous
Innovations thereby like to grow ;
* one man alone there was, to
speak of, (whom let no suspicion
of Flattery deprive of his deserved
Commendation,) who in the de-
fiance of the one part, and cou-
rage of the other, stood in the

* John Whitgift the Archbishop.

gap

gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their Adversaries had otherwise been prevented; wherein God hath made good unto him his own Impress, *Vincit qui patitur*; for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness, and what reward of Honour above his Adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the Discipline is greatly decayed, their Judgements begin to sway on the other side: the Learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not

N only

only not the best kind of Government, but the very bane and destruction of all Government. The cause of this Change in mens Opinions may be drawn from the general nature of Error, disguised and clothed with the name of Truth; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation, which before it had gained; as by the outside of an House the Passers by, are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniencie of the Rooms within: so by the very name of Discipline and Reformation, men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold a far off the
fore,

fore-Front of this reformed house; they have entered in, even at the special request of Master-workmen and chief Builders thereof; they have perused the Roomes, the Lights, the Conveniencies, they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: So as now the Discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the Discipline, is proper to the Learned, or to such as by them have been instructed; another cause there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of

180 *George Cranmers Letter unto*
Practice, which the Reformers
have had with us from the begin-
ning; the first degree was only
some small difference about Cap
and Surplice, but not such as ei-
ther bred division in the Church,
or tended to the ruine of the Go-
vernment established. This was
peaceable; the next degree more
stirring. *Admonitions* were dire-
cted to the Parliament in peremp-
tory sort against our whole Form
of Regiment; in defence of them,
Volumes were published in Eng-
lish, and in Latin; yet this was
no more than writing. Devices
were set on foot to erect the Pra-
ctice of the Discipline without
Authority: yet herein some re-
gard of Modesty, some moderati-
on was used; Behold, at length
it brake forth into open outrage,
first

first in writing by *Martin*, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed ; first that whereas *T.C.* and others his great Masters had always before set out the Discipline as a Queen, and as the Daughter of God ; He contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the Stage.

2. This conceit of his was grounded (as maybe supposed) upon this rare policy, that seeing the Discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the State Ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof

should have been most grateful to all men, and in manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myself to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an Action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, acknowledging therein the secret judgements of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his Church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For 4. contrary to their expectation, that railing Spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their Cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first,

first, to what outrage of Contumely and Slander they were at length proceeded; and were also likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in Fact; Certain * Prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, Namely, that his holy Saints, the favourers and Fathers of the Discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance Ordinary, were fain to persuade themselves that God must needs raise some Extraordinary means; and being persuaded of none so well as of

* Hacket an. Copinger.

184 *George Cranmers Letter unto*
themselves, they forthwith must
needs be the instruments of this
great work. Hereupon they fra-
med unto themselves an assured
hopethat upon their Preaching out
of a Pease Cart, all the multitude
would have presently joyned un-
to them, and in amazement of
mind have asked them, *Viri fra-*
tres, quid agimus? whereunto it is
likely they would have returned
an answer far unlike to that of
St. Peter, *Such and such are men un-*
worthy to govern, pluck them down;
Such and such are the dear Children of
God, let them be advanced. Of two of
these men it is meet to speak with
all Commiseration, yet so that
others by their example may re-
ceive instruction, and withall
some light may appear, what stir-
ring affections the Discipline

is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any man doubt of what Society they were, or if the Reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. *Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantick Passion? whose Sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire?* 2. *Even when they were entering into it, whose advise did they require? and when they were in, whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by Prayers did they request?* But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reprov'd and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the Magistrate, that

186 *George Cranmers Letter unto*
that it might be suppressed? or
were they not rather content to
stand aloof of, and see the end of
it, and loth to quench the Spirit?
No doubt these mad practitioners
were of their society, with whom
before, and in the practise of their
madness they had most affinity.
Hereof, read Doctor *Bancrofts*
Book.

A third inducement may be to
dislike of the Discipline, if we
consider not only how far the Re-
formers themselves have procee-
ded, but what others upon their
Foundations have built. Here
come the *Brownists* in the first
rank, their lineal descendants,
who have seised upon a number of
strange opinions, whereof al-
though their Ancestors, the Refor-
mers, were never actually posses-
sed,

sed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the *Brownists* and *Barrowists* have taken possession of them; for if the positions of the Reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general Conclusions of *Brownism* should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. That because we have no Church, they are to sever themselves from us. 2. That without Civil Authority they are to erect a Church of their own. And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose, will follow; for if above all things men be to regard their Salvation; and if out of the Church there be no Salvation; it followeth, that if we have no Church, we have no means of Salvation; and therefore Separation

tion

tion from us, in that respect, is both lawfull and necessary; as also that men so separated from the false and counterfeit Church, are to associate themselves unto some Church; not to ours; to the Popish much lesse; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these Inferences being this, [*That in our Church there is no means of Salvation*] is out of the Reformers Principles most clearly to be proved. For wheresoever any matter of Faith unto Salvation necessary is denyed, there can be no means of Salvation: But in the Church of *England*, the Discipline, by them accounted a matter of Faith, and necessary to Salvation, is not onely denyed, but impugned, and the Professors thereof oppressed. *Ergo.*

Again,

Again, (but this reason perhaps is weak) Every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ: The Discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Gospel, and yet by our Church resisted. *Ergo.*

Again, The Discipline is essentially united to the Church: by which term *Essentially*, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which wayes it must needs be, that where that essential Discipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them and the *Brownists* there should be appointed a Solemn disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers: it doth not yet appear what other answer they could

190 *George Crammers Letter unto*
could possibly frame to these and
the like arguments, wherewith
they might be pressed, but fairly
to deny the Conclusion (for all the
Premisses are their own) or rather
ingeniously to reverse their own
Principles before laid, whereon
so foul absurdities have been so
firmly built. What further
proofs you can bring out of
their high words, magnifying
the Discipline, I leave to your bet-
ter remembrance: but above all
points, I am desirous this one
should be strongly inforced a-
gainst them, because it wringeth
them most of all, and is of all
others (for ought I see) the most
unanswerable; you may notwith-
standing say that you would be
heartily glad these their posi-
tions might so be salved as the
Brown-

Brownists might not appear to have issued out of their Loynes : but until that be done, they must give us leave to think that *they have cast the Seed whereout these tares are grown.*

Another sort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the Reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs: These are a sort of Godless Politicks, who perceiving the Plot of Discipline to consist of these two parts, the overthrow of Episcopal, and erections of Presbyterial Authority, and that this latter can take no place till the former be remov'd, are content to joyn with them in the Destructive part of Discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also they shall find

192 *George Crammers Letter unto*
find them as ready. But whe-
timeshall come, it may be they
would be as loath to be yoka-
ed with that kind of Regiment,
as now they are willing to be re-
leased from this; These mens ends
in all their actions, is Distraction,
their pretence and colour, Refor-
mation. Those things which
under this colour they have effe-
cted to their own good, are, 1. By
maintaing a contrary faction,
they have kept the Clergy always
in awe; and thereby made them
more pliable and willing to buy
their peace. 2. By maintaining
an Opinion of Equality among
Ministers, they have made way to
their own purposes for devouring
Cathedral Churches, and Bishops
livings. 3. By exclaiming a-
gainst abuses in the Church, they
have

have carried their own corrupt dealings in the Civil State more covertly; for such is the Nature of the Multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, so as being possessed with a dislike or liking of any one thing, many other in the mean time may escape them without being perceived. 4. They have sought to disgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in mens minds, and confirming it by continual practise, that men of Learning, and specially of the Clergy, which are employed in the chiefest kind of Learning, are not to be admitted, or sparingly admitted to matters of State; contrary to the practise of all well-governed Commonwealths, and of our own till these late years.

A third sort of men there are, though not descended from the Reformers, yet in part raised and greatly Strengthened by them, namely the cursed crew of Atheists. This also is one of those points, which I am desirous you should handle most effectually, and strain your self therein to all points of motion and affection, as in that of the Brownists, to all strength and sinews of reason. This is a sort most damnable, and yet by the general suspicion of the world at this day most common. The causes of it, which are in the parties themselves, although you handle in the beginning of the first Book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occasions of help and furtherance, which by the Reformers have been yielded unto them,

them, are, as I conceive, two, *senseless Preaching, and disgracing of the Ministry*; for how should not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of Reason, nor by Authority of Persons is maintained? But in the parties themselves these two Causes I conceive of Atheism, 1. more abundance of Wit then Judgement, and of Witty than Judicious Learning, whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of sound Learning for the most part, but Smatterers; neither is their kind of Dispute so much by force of Argument, as by Scoffing; which humour of scoffing, and turning matters most serious into merriment, is now become

196 *George Crammers Letter unto*
so common, as we are not to mar-
vail what the Prophet means by
the *seat of Scorners*, nor what the
Apostles by foretelling of *Scorners*
to come, our own age hath verifi-
ed their speech unto us ; which
also may be an Argument against
these Scoffers and Atheists them-
selves, seeing it hath been so ma-
ny ages ago foretold, that such
men the later days of the world
should afford, which could not
be done by any other Spirit, save
that whereunto *things future and*
present are alike. And even for
the main question of the Resur-
rection, whereat they stick so
mightily, was it not plainly fore-
told, that men should in the latter
times say, *Where is the promise of his*
coming ? Against the Creation, the
Ark, and divers other points, ex-
ceptions

ceptions are said to be taken; the ground whereof is superfluity of Wit, without ground of Learning and Judgement. A second cause of Atheism is *Sensuality*, which maketh men desirous to remove all stops and impediments of their wicked life; among which because Religion is the chiefest, so as neither in this life without shame they can persist therein, nor (if that be true) without Torment in the life to come, they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of Heaven, wherein they see (if any such be) they can have no part, and likewise the pains of Hell, wherein their portion must needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deserve those pains, but that deserving them, there may be no such pains to

seize upon them ; But what conceit can be imagined more base, than that man should strive to persuade himself even against the secret Instinct (no doubt) of his own Mind, that his Soul is as the Soul of a Beast, mortal and corruptible with the Body? Against which barbarous Opinion their own Atheism is a very strong Argument. For were not the Soul a Nature separable from the Body, how could it enter into discourse of things merely Spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the Body? Surely the Soul were not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no not so much as to dispute against Heaven and against God, if there were not in it somewhat Heavenly and derived from God.

The last which have received
strength

strength and encouragement from the Reformers are *Papists*; against whom although they are most bitter Enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any Enemy rather desire than the Breach and Dissension of those which are Confederates against him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our Communion with *Papists* in some few Ceremonies do so much strengthen them as is pretended, how much more doth this Division and Rent among our selves, especially seeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters onely, but even in matter of Faith and Salvation? Which over-reaching Speech of theirs, because it is so open to advantage for the *Barrowist* and the *Papist*, we are to wish and hope

for, that they will acknowledge it to have been spoken rather in heat of Affection, than with soundness of Judgment, and through their exceeding love to that Creature of Discipline which themselves have bred, nourished, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did soon overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to your self) to another discourse, which I think very meet to be handled either here or elsewhere at large, the parts whereof may be these. 1. That in this cause between them and us, men are to sever the proper and essential points and controversy, from those which are accidental. The most essential and proper are these two, overthrow of Episcopal, erection

rection of Presbyterial Authority. But in these two points who-so-ever joyneth with them is ac-compted of their number ; who-so-ever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the Au-thority of Bishops not unlawful, and of Elders not necessary, may justly be severed from their reti-nue. Those things therefore which either in the Persons, or in the Laws and Orders themselves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged and amended ; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpose ; for what if all ertors by them supposed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts desire ? if *Non-residence*, *Pluralities*, and the like, were utterly taken away ? are their Lay - Elders therefore presently Autho-

Authorized, or their Sovereign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction established ?

But even in their complaining against the outward and accidental matters in Church-government, they are many ways faulty :
1. In their end which they propose to themselves. For in Declaming against Abuses, their meaning is not to have them redressed, but by disgracing the present State to make way for their own Discipline. As therefore in *Venice*, if any Senatour should discourse against the Power of their Senate, as being either too Sovereign or too Weak in Government, with purpose to draw their Authority to a Moderation, it might well be suffered ; but not so, if it should appear he spake with purpose to induce another

ther State by depraving the present : So in all Causes belonging either to Church or Commonwealth , we are to have regard what mind the Complaining part doth bear, whether of Amendment or Innovation, and accordingly either to suffer or suppress it. Their Objection therefore is frivolous, Why may not men speak against Abuses? Yes, but with desire to cure the Part affected, not to destroy the Whole.

2. A second fault is in their Manner of Complaining, not onely because it is for the most part in bitter and reprochful Terms, but also it is to the Common people, who are Judges incompetent and insufficient, both to determine any thing amiss, and for want of Skill and Authority to amend it. Which
also

also discovereth their Intent and Purpose to be rather Destructive than Corrective. 3. Thirdly, those very Exceptions which they take are frivolous and impertinent: Some things indeed they accuse as impious, which if they may appear to be such, God forbid they should be maintained.

Against the rest it is onely alleged, that they are Idle Ceremonies without use, and that better and more profitable might be devised. Wherein they are doubly deceiv'd; for neither is it a sufficient Plea to say, This must give place, because a Better may be devised; because in our Judgments of Better and Worse, we oftentimes conceive amiss, when we compare those things which are in Devise, with those which are in Practice; *for the*

Im=

Imperfections of the one are hid, till by Time and Trial they be discovered. The others are already manifest and open to all. But last of all, (which is a Point in my Opinion of great regard, and which I am desirous to have enlarg'd) they do not see that for the most part when they strike at the State Ecclesiastical, they secretly wound the Civil State: for Personal faults, *What can be said against the Church, which may not also agree to the Commonwealth?* In both States Men have always been, and will be always, Men, sometimes blinded with Errour, most commonly perverted by Passions: many Unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many Worthy not regarded. And as for Abuses which they pretend to be in the Laws themselves, when they in-
veigh

206 *George Crammers Letter unto*
veigh against *Non-residence*, do they
take it a matter lawful or expedi-
ent in the Civil State for a man to
have a great and gainful Office in
the North, himself continually re-
maining in the South ? *He that hath*
an Office, let him attend his Office.
When they condemn *Plurality* of
Livings Spiritual to the pit of
Hell, what think they of Infinite of
Temporal Promotions ? By the
great Philosopher *Pol.lib.2.c.9.* it is
forbidden as a thing most dange-
rous to Commonwealths, that by
the same man many great Offices
should be exercised. When they
deride our Ceremonies as vain
and frivolous, were it hard to ap-
ply their Exceptions even to those
Civil Ceremonies, which at the
Coronation, in Parliament, and all
Courts of Justice, are used ? Were
it

it hard to argue even against Circumcision, the Ordinance of God, as being a cruel Ceremony? against the Pascheover, as being ridiculous? should be girt, a Staff in their hand, to eat a Lamb?

To conclude; you may exhort the Clergy, (or what if you direct your Conclusion not to the Clergy in general, but only to the Learned in or of both Univerſities?) you may exhort them to a due Consideration of all things, and to a right Esteem and Valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what Men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in, the Price and the Excellency thereof they do admire above desert. The chiefest Labour of a Christian should be to know;
of

of a Minister, to preach Christ crucified: in regard whereof not onely Worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the Discipline it self is vile and base: Whereas now by the heat of Contention, and violence of Affection, the Zele of men towards the one hath greatly decayed their Love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to *Preach Christ crucified*, the Mortification of the Flesh, the Renewing of the Spirit; not those things which in time of Strife seem precious, but (Passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

F I N I S.

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